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APR 26 1900

The  
Catholic University Bulletin.

*Vol. VI.*

*APRIL, 1900.*

*No. 2.*

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—*St. VINCENT OF LERINS, Commonit., c. 6.*

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY  
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PRESS OF  
STORMONT & JACKSON  
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THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY.<sup>1</sup>

The preceding two lectures in this course have treated of the general nature of society, and of social institutions. To-day we are to discuss a more limited concept, and to study more in detail a particular aspect of society and a particular class of social institutions.

We may take as our starting point this generic definition of society:—An aggregation of individuals, held together by the pursuit of a common aim.

The common aims that create a society may be many, or there may be but one. Without going into the discussion of what is the fundamental fact that explains all human society, we can easily cite several aims, any *one* of which, we would readily agree, could serve as a reasonable working hypothesis to account for the existence of organized society. We can understand, for example, how men would come together into permanent groups, and live an associated life, for the mere pleasure derived from intellectual intercourse; or, for the better protection of individual life, property, and rights; or, for the larger command over the necessities and comforts of life, that results from combined labor and exchange of products.

As a matter of fact, we find that to-day in society, in its larger aspect, all of these ends are consciously sought; and that in the pursuit of each particular end the individuals in society, or, we may say, society itself, exerts certain activities.

<sup>1</sup> Lecture delivered in the Public Course, March 14, 1900.

At first glance these activities seem countless in number and kind, unrelated, and without system or order. To illustrate this, we have only to glance for a moment at the life of one of our great cities as we know it to-day. Everywhere we see activity, eager, restless, even feverish,—everywhere, hurrying, jostling, multitudes of men, some rushing one way, some another. Each of these hurrying creatures is bent on joining some group of his fellows; and if we follow them successively to their destinations, we find the groups they are joining engaged in every conceivable form of activity. One group, in a bank or a counting-house, is busily engaged in taking in and giving out metal discs and paper strips, and making entries in huge books; while another group is sitting about a table in a club, drinking queer mixtures, sucking smoke out of burning weeds, and talking in the intervals. Further on in a council chamber, or a senate, a sedate group is listening—weariedly, perhaps—to some one talking about taxes, or constitutions; and near by, in a theatre, another group may be found watching, intently, the manœuvres of a few people on a stage, or listening to a piano recital,—or, perhaps, even to a lecture. In a large depot, we find a group intent only on the loading and moving of railroad trains; and another group, in blue suits and brass buttons, with knapsacks and rifles, quietly waiting to be transported to another spot, where they are to shoot down as many of their fellow men as possible. Countless other groups are found scattered about in drawing rooms, sipping tea and talking furiously; and still other groups, amidst the whirr and clatter of machinery, are busily engaged in factories in making various articles to satisfy human wants.

I might go on through an almost endless list, but these few instances will suggest to us how diverse are social activities, and how little they seem to follow any fixed law. A little analysis, however, will enable us to classify all social activities under a very few categories. All the seemingly diverse activities of the groups just enumerated, for example, may be brought under three heads.

Many of these groups were in one way or another seeking the pleasure that comes from social intercourse. The club, the saloon, the theatre, the afternoon tea, are all institutions

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set up to attain that end ; and the corresponding activities may be classified under the one head, *social*.<sup>1</sup>

Other groups were in various ways seeking to carry on that form of organization adopted by the larger social group to which they belonged, for the better protection of life, property and rights. Senates, councils, and armies, are some of the institutions set up to attain that end ; and the activities they represent may be classified under the one head, *political*.

Other groups, again, were laboring to create and distribute the necessities and comforts of life. The counting-house, the bank, the railroad, and the factory, are institutions set up to further this aim ; and these activities may be classified under the one head, *economic*.

Since we can classify these activities, we can concentrate our attention on any one class, to the exclusion of the others. We can thus view society under different aspects ; and, in this sense, we can speak of political society or of economic society. In each case we may have under survey identically the same group of individuals. Together they may form a single unity, one objective thing ; but we can, none the less, view that single objective whole under different aspects, corresponding to the different ends it seeks to attain. We can study the institutions set up to attain this or that particular end, as forming in themselves a complete unified system ; and we can thus speak of the political structure of society, or of its economic structure.

If, therefore, we abstract from all other social phenomena, and fix our attention on that form of social organization, and those institutions in existence at any given time, as the result of the progressive effort of society to use the most efficient means to attain its economic ends, we shall have before us the economic structure of society at that period.

In this and the following lecture in this course we shall discuss some of the economic aspects of society ; and in the concluding one, some of its political aspects.

The most cursory glance at society in its economic aspect, reveals to us its organic nature. Whether we consider it with

<sup>1</sup> The use of the term *social* in this narrower sense is misleading, but sociology has not yet given us any other term to supply its place. *Social* activities, in the wider sense, embrace every form of group activity. The term is thus generic. But we have to use the term again in a specific sense, to denote the residuum of activities not included under the specific terms, *economic*, *political*, etc.

respect to the immensity, the complexity, or the delicacy of its structure, the social organism is one of the most wonderful works of creation. So wonderful indeed is it, that one of our astronomers, a man familiar with the grandeur of the heavens, has borne this testimony:—"I have studied a great many things, both in the heavens and on the earth, but nowhere have I found anything more marvellous than the social organism."

Perhaps the best means of analysing and understanding the existing economic social structure is to trace out its origin and development, thus leading up through smaller and simpler forms to the immense and complex form we know to-day.

Before there was any economic society, in a large sense, there were economic wants, and men exerted activities to satisfy them. Primitive man found himself confronted from the beginning with the universal wants, of food, of clothing, and of shelter. Antecedent to any social organization, he had to put forth his own unaided efforts to satisfy these wants. His intelligence soon pointed out to him that by co-operating with his fellows he could more easily satisfy his needs, and economic society resulted.

The particular form of co-operation that lies at the basis of all economic society, is what we term division of labor. When the race first appears on the threshold of history, division of labor has already taken place within the family group. The family thus presents the first form of economic organization. It is the primordial social group in which we can discern a rudimentary economic structure; and for a time it remains the largest economic group we can distinguish.

A group of families may be found united into a tribe, acting together for purposes of common defense or aggression, recognizing the authority of a single chief, and thus constituting a rudimentary political society. But so long as each family lives its economic life independently of the others, so long as co-operation in satisfying economic wants is confined to the family group, the larger political group, *the tribe*, has no economic structure. It does not constitute an economic society. Each family by itself constitutes a small economic society. The political group is, thus, larger than the economic group. The political society is made up of a number of separate and

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independent economic societies. Before the larger group, the tribe, can be said to have an economic structure, co-operation in satisfying economic wants must cross family lines.

When the crossing of family lines does occur, we find it due to a further extension of the principle of division of labor; and by a wider and wider extension of the principle, the tribe, as a whole, begins to present a complex organic economic structure. The beginnings are discernible even in that primitive stage of social evolution, which we term the hunting and fishing stage. The savage hunter, for example, fashions a stone knife, cuts a twig to make his bows and arrows, cuts strips of prepared hide for his bow strings, and armed with his bow and arrows more easily procures his food. All these various operations had for their ultimate object the slaying of game. They were all steps in an elaborated process adopted by an intelligent animal, man, the more effectively to procure his food. To this end, he has availed himself of the resources of nature. Very soon, his intelligence shows him that by co-operating with his fellows, he can render his efforts to satisfy his economic wants still more effective. Some of the tribe prove more skillful at one of the tasks enumerated than at another. One, lacking in the speed and endurance necessary for the hunter, may yet surpass all of his fellows in the fashioning of knives and the making of bows and arrows. He will, in consequence, cease to hunt, and will devote himself to handicraft. He will trade off the bows and arrows that he makes for portions of the hunter's game, and in this way will secure more food in return for a day's work than if he had given his efforts to the chase. And the hunters, being less skillful than he, in handicrafts, will find, in turn, that their bows and arrows have cost them less game than they would have cost, had they themselves desisted from the chase to make these implements. Both parties to the trading are better off under this system of co-operation, through division of labor, than they were under the old system, where each depended entirely on his own exertions to satisfy his wants.

We have now seen the first step in the economic evolution of society. The progress has been due to two factors: the utilization of natural forces, as seen in the use of the stone

knife, bows and arrows ; and the increasing of the labor power of the group through division of labor. The motive that has led to each of these has been self-interest. All the wonderful and complex progress of the ages reduces in the last analysis, to these simple factors ; and in the simple phenomena just described we find the law underlying many of the tremendous social movements of to-day, just as in the falling apple we see the law of the planets.

As the tribe grows, this process of division of labor is still further extended, and each want of the group is satisfied by the labors of a particular individual. One man confines himself to making knives and other stone implements ; another makes only bows and arrows ; another is tanner of hides for the tribe,—and so on through an ever increasing list. As a result of this process the tribe is developing a more and more complex economic structure. It has become an economic unity. The separate individuals have been merged into one organic whole. We can now regard the tribe as a whole as having economic wants ; and the particular workers, or groups of workers, that labor to satisfy the different wants, we can regard as organs that have taken over to themselves the performance of specific functions. Each group, or organ, works to satisfy a single want of all the other groups ; and they in turn supply the satisfaction for all its wants.

When tribes pass from the hunting and fishing stage, to the pastoral and the agricultural stages, the amount of labor required to procure food and clothing is very much lessened. With each step in economic progress the labor of a smaller and smaller number of men suffices to supply their primitive wants, and a larger and larger number are left free to labor for the satisfaction of the newer and higher wants that successively appear. The satisfying of each newly-appearing want is taken over, as before, by a particular group, and new trades spring up one after another.

As this process goes on and on, the economic structure of society grows more and more complex, and growth becomes increasingly organic. We can not stop to trace out in detail the various steps in the development of the social organism. I have tried to indicate to you its genesis, and its principle of

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growth; and I want next to invite your attention to the immensity and complexity of the economic structure as it exists to-day.

In the beginning we saw that the political unity was larger than the economic. The tribe, although a political whole, might yet be without economic structure, embracing, as it did, a number of small independent economic societies. The test by which we determined the limits of an economic society was the extent to which co-operation went. Thus, when division of labor crossed family lines, and exchange of products took place throughout the tribe, the economic society grew to be co-extensive with the political society. But economic co-operation, resulting from division of labor, and exchange of products, has long since crossed national lines, just as it did family lines,—until now, the economic group is larger than any political group, and one economic society has come to embrace a number of smaller political societies. France and Germany, for example, are two distinct political societies. The political rights of the citizens of either country may be abridged or extended to any degree without exerting any corresponding effect on the citizens of the other. But in so far as there is an exchange of products between the two countries, in so far as some of the wants of the Frenchman are supplied by the labor of his German enemy,—who in turn uses many of the products of the labor of the Frenchman,—the two are co-operating for the satisfaction of economic wants. They are, therefore, fellow members of one economic society, and changes in the economic conditions of the one state may be directly felt within the confines of the other.

By the application of this same test we shall find that to-day the whole world forms one immense, complex, economic society, in which racial as well as national lines are obliterated. To realize how true this is, let us glance, only for a moment, at the widely scattered groups of co-operators who have given their labor to satisfy the needs of the single city in which we live. The wheat we consume was raised, perhaps, in Dakota and ground into flour for us in Minnesota. Our meat supply was produced, perhaps, in Montana or Texas, and butchered for us in Illinois. The plantations of the gulf states and the



factories of New England have been worked to provide us cotton goods. And not only has every State and Territory in the Union, probably, sent us something of its products, but other continents and other races have been laid under tribute to satisfy our wants. Englishmen have labored to furnish us woolen cloths, and Frenchmen to send us silks; and German and Italian peasants alike have cultivated their vineyards to send us their wines. The labor on the plantations of Brazil has furnished us coffee, and the Chinese have given us our tea. The deft fingers of Persian and of Turk have woven coverings for the floors of our dwellings. The Kaffir has toiled in the mines of Kimberley, and the Arab has gone down below the waters of the Persian Gulf, that we may decorate ourselves with diamonds and pearls; and the tribesmen of the African jungles have hunted the elephant to give us ivory for our billiard balls.

Thus, to satisfy our wants, from the most important to the most trifling, the labor of the world is required. However exclusive we may choose to be socially, in the narrower sense, however much we may strive to bar out other races from *political* fellowship, we yet remain fellow-members in one vast economic society with Englishman and Frenchman, Italian and German, Persian and Turk, Arab and Kaffir, and on through a list that embraces even the despised Filipino.

Not only has the social organism grown to this wondrous, world-embracing immensity, but its complexity is not less wonderful. We have seen how in the beginning the advantages of division of labor gave rise to trades, and how even the primitive tribe came to have its worker in stone, its tanner of hides, its bow and arrow maker. From that day to our own the same principle has been at work persistently, and every step in economic progress has been marked by the springing up of new trades as a result of more and more minute subdivisions of the older ones.

In a primitive community the smith is the smiter, the wielder of the hammer, the general worker in metals. Later on, the trade of the smith begets a family of trades, and we find the ironsmith, the silversmith, the goldsmith. Then the trade of the ironsmith breaks up into two trades, that of the

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blacksmith, who forges the rougher forms of iron, and that of the whitesmith, who fashions it into smaller, more delicate, and more finished forms. Later still, we find the trade of the ironsmith broken up into almost as many trades as there are particular forms of iron goods, and one man is a horseshoe maker, another a nail maker, a third a pin maker, and so on through a long list. Finally, coming down to the period just preceding the industrial revolution, when machinery supplanted hand labor, we find the principle carried out to the last degree, and in some trades there are as many different occupations as there are different motions of the hand to be performed. In illustration of this point, let me quote Adam Smith's classical illustration, taken from the trade of pin making. "To take an example, therefore," he says, "from a very trifling manufacture; but one in which the division of labor has very often been taken notice of, the trade of the pin maker; a workman not educated to this business (which the division of labor has rendered a distinct trade), nor acquainted with the machinery employed in it (to the invention of which the same division of labor has probably given occasion), could scarce, perhaps, with his utmost industry, make one pin in a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which this business is now carried on, not only is the whole work a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a particular business, to whiten the pin is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind where ten men only were employed, and where some of them, consequently, performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they

exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins a day. There are in a pound upward of four thousand pins of a middling size. These ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this particular business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day; that is, certainly not the two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand eight hundredth part of what they are at present capable of performing, in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations."

Adam Smith uses this to illustrate the marvellous increase in productive capacity due to the division of labor; but, although I have quoted it at length, I cite it rather to show the extent to which the division of labor had been carried before the introduction of machinery, and to suggest the growing complexity of the social structure.

Under our modern system, with its elaborate processes of machine production, the division of labor has been carried to a degree that renders production so complex as almost to defy analysis. Let us take the simplest illustration, and trace out how many people have co-operated in the making of the single loaf of bread we ate for breakfast. We would at once admit our indebtedness to the baker who made and baked the loaf; to the miller who ground the wheat into flour; and to the farmer who raised the grain. But the baker used an oven and pans. Now ovens and pans are not desired by us for their own sake. They are secondary wants. The labor expended in making them, is labor expended in the production of bread, just as the labor of the primitive hunter in making his stone knife, and his bows and arrows, was labor expended in procuring food. So the bricklayer, and, further back, the brick maker, and the maker of the pans, are all to be enumerated in the list of those whose labor made that loaf of bread for us.

But the pans themselves were made in a larger factory, where there was much machinery; and in the making of each

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pan many men co-operated, beginning with the fireman who shovelled coal into the furnaces, and on up to the manager of the works. Each of these, numbering in all, dozens, probably, was, in part, maker of the pan ; and as the pan was only made for the purpose of baking the bread, each of these was a factor in the making of that loaf.

Again, the machinery in the pan factory, from engine and boiler, on through the whole list, was only made for the purpose of making the pan in which to bake the loaf of bread. And so the labor of many men in the different factories that made the machinery, that was used in the factory that made the pans, was labor expended in the making of bread.

The pedigree of that loaf of bread is already growing bewildering ; but we are only at the beginning. In the mill in which the wheat was ground into flour, there were numbers of men from fireman and engineer on up again to foreman and manager, all of whom take part in the flour making, and who thus add themselves to the list of those whose labor went to the making of our loaf of bread. And, again, there is the same background, filled with other groups of men, who made the boilers, engines, and machinery in the flouring mill ; and as their labor was expended in order that the flour might be ground, to make our loaf, their labor too, must be counted as part of the labor spent in making the loaf of bread.

Then too, the farmer who raised the wheat, used plows, and harrows, and reapers, and threshers ; and each of those was made in factories using other machinery ; and so the series runs on and on, until the list of those who coöperated in the planting, raising, and harvesting of that wheat, becomes in turn bewildering. And all these have to be added to the already long list of those who coöperated in the making of the loaf of bread.

The list is far from complete even yet, for I have left out mention of the hundreds and hundreds of men who were engaged by the railroad systems that carried all these things from place to place ; and the other hundreds who built the engines and cars, etc. ; and the hundreds more who built the road itself ; and the miners who mined the iron and the coal, that entered into every process we have mentioned.

It is very true that the result of all this labor was something more than that single loaf of bread we have had under discussion ; but it is equally true that in the making of that loaf all these hundreds of men performed a part.

In the purchase of that loaf of bread we *helped* give employment to all the workers in this long series ; and our purchase of more bread or less bread, our paying a higher or lower price for it are among the factors that determine the remuneration of every worker in the whole list. Nor is this all. Each of these workers was in turn a consumer of many things produced by other workers ; and in proportion as we purchase more or less of his product, will he be able to purchase more or less of their products. Thus a commercial depression, beginning in one part of a country, not only affects those living in that part ; but they, ceasing to buy the products of another section, as they did in their prosperous days, transmit the depression to that section ; and thus in turn, it may be transmitted from section to section or from country to country until it is felt in some degree over the world.

The influence of every act of purchase, therefore, tends to be diminishingly transmitted throughout the whole length and breadth of economic society. This widespread influence may not be appreciable to us in particular acts, but the law is none the less true. Physics has established the law, that every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force directly as the mass and inversely as the distance. If I toss a ball into the air I may not see any change in the solar system, but it is none the less true that I have exerted an influence that extends throughout the universe, and have rearranged the harmony of its parts. Or, if I walk from one side to another of the ship, I have not, *apparently*, affected it in the slightest ; but, I have, nevertheless, actually shifted its center of gravity, and modified the strain and stress in every part of the system. If five hundred of us, instead of one, had gone from one side to the other, the effect would have been very apparent in the list we gave to the vessel ; and if the shifting of position of one had been *absolutely* without effect, five hundred times "no effect" could not have produced effect.

So too, I may not at first see how the effect of this or that

economic act has been transmitted beyond the man with whom I have last dealt; but more careful study will show me that its influence has been passed on as surely as was the influence of my tossing the ball, or my changing position on the ship.

Fortunately, it is not possible, for any of us, or all of us combined, to affect *appreciably* the course of the planets, or the harmony of the physical universe; but, it is possible for one man, by his economic action, to exert an influence that is transmitted *appreciably* over continents, and even the world.

In an earlier part of this discussion, we saw how, as the result of division of labor, the artisans of the tribe labored for the tribe as a whole; and how each was, in turn, supported by the labor of the whole tribe. From this small beginning has grown that complex organic structure of society we now see. Production has now become almost completely socialized. Few of us any longer produce any of the things we ourselves actually use to satisfy our wants. Each gives all his labor to the producing of some one thing that society as a whole needs,—his whole life and work he gives to serve society and supply its wants; and society in turn serves him, and supplies him satisfaction for all his needs. The result savors of the marvelous, even of the paradoxical. Every single one of us secures in return for his labor, far more than he alone could produce. We could not in ten life times produce a fraction of the necessities and comforts we enjoy in one.

In illustration of this, we have only to recall the difference in the economic condition of a western frontier family of fifty years ago, and of the family of an average workingman in one of the cities that have sprung up there to-day. The family of the earlier day was dependent largely on its own unaided exertions for the satisfaction of all its wants. Toil, hard and incessant, was the lot of each of its members, until frequently the woman grew as weather-beaten and as horny-handed as the man. In return they had primitive huts, coarse and unvaried food, rough clothing, and scarcely one of the comforts or even decencies of life. In that same country to-day, go into the home of a skilled workingman, a bricklayer for example. He works eight hours in the day, and lays a few thousand bricks. His whole life goes to building homes for others. All economic

society now coöperates to satisfy his wants. His table contains delicate and varied food, produced partly, perhaps, in other lands and climes; he and his family wear clothing of a fineness, that they could not begin to produce; his dwelling is immeasurably superior to that of the pioneer, for architect and scientist have combined to make it beautiful, comfortable, and healthful; costly processes of reproduction are at his command, to adorn his walls with copies of the art of the greatest of all countries and of all ages; huge presses have been erected and set going, that he may have on his shelves the printed pages whereon is preserved the thought of those of every nation and century whom God has endowed most richly; his wife does only the domestic work, and his children have the advantages of schools; he rides to and from his work in conveyances that in speed and comfort surpass the chariots of a king of a century ago. His life is incomparably fuller and richer than was that of the pioneer of an earlier day. The difference between the two is due entirely to social growth. The pioneer, like primitive man, was practically a member of an economic society, that was confined to family limits; whilst the city artisan is a member of a world-embracing economic society, and in return for his daily contributions of a few thousand bricks laid in orderly rows, he enjoys the fruits of the labor of thousands upon thousands of his fellowmen. The two are separated by only fifty years of time, but fifty centuries of economic progress lies between them.

In considering the production of a single loaf of bread, we saw that part of the labor of hundreds of men went into its making. If we reflect that a similar series of workers lies behind all we eat, all we wear, the houses in which we live, and all the comforts we enjoy, we shall realize that the humblest of us, daily, commands the services of thousands upon thousands of his fellowmen; and that each of us has at beck and call an army of servants that would put to blush an Oriental monarch with his retinue of slaves.

In conclusion, then, let me sum up our discussion in a few words. We have seen that the beginnings of economic society came from coöperation in satisfying economic wants. Every extension of this principle of coöperation, so as to enlarge the

number of coöperators, enlarged at the same time the limits of economic society, until, beginning with the family, it has grown to embrace the world. Every extension of the principle, in the way of a greater and greater subdivision of trades, has rendered the resulting social structure more and more complex, more and more organic; until to-day we have a structure so complicated, that its study has been raised to the dignity of a science. And every increase in the size and complexity of the social organism has given to society greater command over the necessities and comforts of life, and has made possible for the individual a richer and a fuller life.

In our discussion thus far we have considered structure and growth chiefly in their relation to production. We have, however, seen that as the social structure grew in size and complexity, the acts of individuals have assumed added importance, and have become of more and more consequence to their fellows. In the following lecture we shall consider structure and growth in their relation to distribution, and shall discuss some of the ethical aspects of the question.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

## THE ARGUMENT OF ST. THOMAS FOR IMMORTALITY.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of immortality, as we find it in the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, may be summarized in this form :

Death implies the falling away of the bodily elements from their union with that principle of self-activity, co-ordination and identity, which we call the soul. It implies, consequently, the cessation of those vital functions, conscious and unconscious, which are the joint product of soul and body. The soul, however, as a real being, survives, retaining its powers of intellect and will and preserving its individual existence.

It will be admitted, I think, that this view has the merit of consistency. Assuming that the soul is something real, and that it holds within itself the title to reality, we may, without involving ourselves in contradiction, frame a proposition of which the soul so understood is the subject and permanence, in the sense already explained, is the predicate. Immortality is not, on the face of it, absurd. To assert that the soul lives after death is not logically equivalent to asserting that the same thing is, at the same time and in the same signification of the terms, alive and not alive.

Going a step farther, we might say that, so far as experience guides us, it is easier to conceive of a thing as enduring than it is to conceive of its vanishing into nothingness. When an object disappears from the range of our perception, our first impulsive thought about it is that it is still existing somewhere else or somehow else. Likewise, the scientist very properly refuses to believe that any particle of matter, torn or crushed as it may be, is absolutely annihilated, or that any item of energy, through endless permutations, is altogether lost. Although these forms of existence escape our senses, we

<sup>1</sup>The Public Lecture Course of the University, December 18, 1899. The aim of this paper is rather to exhibit the fundamental ideas upon which St. Thomas bases his argument than to present the numerous developments which are found in the *Contra Gentes*, the *Summa Theologica* and the *Quaestiones Disputatae*. Cf. BULLETIN for January.



manage to follow them in thought ; or rather we find it impossible to think of them as lapsing into non-entity. Given, therefore, a real being, the presumption is in favor of its somehow continuing. On the same basis, if the soul is a real substantial thing, it is at least possible that it should continue to exist in some mode or other. The mere fact that it is not seen or felt or heard after death, is not conclusive evidence that it has utterly ceased. This negative testimony of our senses may be subject to correction and perhaps to rebuttal.

It is true, on the other hand, that such correction is not supplied by the imagination. We have no satisfactory way of picturing to ourselves a disembodied spirit ; and all attempts of the fancy in this direction must necessarily result, either in vague and shadowy outlines of phantom and wraith, or in those figments too vivid and grotesque, which are the privilege and solace of untutored minds. But this failure of the imagination cannot be taken as decisive. It is, on the contrary, just what we should expect, if we set out from the assumption that the soul is not a material thing. For then it is beyond the reach of the imagination, even in the present life. That the soul exists, and that it is of such and such a nature, we know only by inference. Its naked, unconditioned essence never appears in consciousness, and the more we rely upon the imagination, either to prove or disprove its reality, the more does misconception give rise to deception.

Hence, our question is not: can we, or how shall we, imagine the soul surviving the body ; but can we prove by reasoning that the soul does survive, and if so, by what sort of reasoning ?

Methods of demonstration, we all know, vary somewhat according to the nature of the problem which it is attempted to solve. The natural sciences have their method, mathematics another, history yet another. When the chemist analyses a compound, his balance will tell him whether any of the elements has disappeared. The astronomer who predicts an eclipse, may or may not see the prediction verified ; but his calculation leaves no room for doubt. The validity of the demonstration and the certainty which it affords, is due, in these and similar cases, to the fundamental idea of nature's

uniformity. Were nature prompted to action by whim and caprice, no reliance could be placed on physical laws, or, more exactly, no such thing as physical law would exist. Uniformity, again, is a characteristic which impresses itself upon our minds by dint of repeated observation; it means that what we have seen take place on previous occasions will happen on future occasions in which the causal arrangement or the conditions recur in the same way. Now, evidently, if stress be laid on experience as an indispensable feature of proof, the demonstration of the soul's immortality is out of the question during this life. Separation from the body and subsequent survival, if they take place at all, may have been experienced by those who are gone before us; but for each of us they are at most possibilities.

It seems important to emphasize in this way the absence of strictly experimental evidence, because of the position taken by St. Thomas in regard to the doctrine of pre-existence. His principal objection to this Platonic notion is based on the fact that the soul does not bring into the world the stock of knowledge which it would have acquired had it enjoyed a previous existence. It cannot, therefore, testify as to a survival or a series of survivals which make up its earlier history. It would, perhaps, have made the whole problem of immortality much easier to handle, if St. Thomas had accepted the doctrine of previous states; for he might then have carried his appeal directly to experience. The soul could have reasoned after this fashion: I have already passed, time after time, through the ordeal of death, and I have, therefore, every right to believe that I shall survive when this present body is dissolved. It would have been an argument drawn from personal experience and based on the uniformity of nature.

But as St. Thomas rejects this view, he is obliged to turn elsewhere for proofs of immortality. The method which he follows consists, in the main, of three steps. He first selects some fact or peculiarity of the soul's activity which can be tested and thus established beyond dispute. Then, secondly, he interprets this fact as a manifestation of the essential nature of the soul, and, finally, he argues that such a being not only can be immortal, but must be immortal.



The phenomena of consciousness, it is now pretty generally admitted, cannot be regarded as the products of material substance, or as forms of material energy. They are, from the highest to the lowest, irreducible. A movement is not a sensation, nor is a sensation identical with movement. If the mechanism of the brain were exposed to our view in all its details, if we could follow the slightest change, physical and chemical, in each cell and in each particle of its substance, we would come no nearer to an explanation of consciousness. The utmost that we could learn would be, that, when such or such a process takes place in the mind, it is accompanied by this or that motion,—perhaps by a whole vortex of motions—in the complex structure of the brain. But the passage from process in the brain to process in the mind would be, as it is in our present imperfect knowledge, unthinkable.

Such statements seem, at first sight, to justify the conclusion that mind is not indebted to matter for its existence, and consequently might continue to exist, even when the brain has ceased. It would not, at any rate, be allowable to infer that the soul is mortal on the principle that the effect terminates when the cause is removed; for, on this hypothesis, body and soul are not related as cause and effect. Each mental phenomenon is the outcome of others that precede it in consciousness, and each in turn gives rise to new phenomena that are likewise conscious. We might surely conceive this train of processes to stretch out indefinitely, and so discern the evidence for immortality in the very fact that we are conscious beings.

St. Thomas is of a different mind. Whatever, it would seem, belongs to consciousness as such must belong to every grade of consciousness; what applies to the highest faculties of the mind must apply also to the lowest. Any living thing, provided it have at least the power of sensation, would be on the same level with man, in respect of immortality. The whole animal creation would be immortal. And this is precisely what St. Thomas denies. The soul of the brute, though endowed with consciousness, does not survive the body, because, in each and all of its activities, it depends upon the body. The animal is not a mere machine, nor is its life a species of mechanical energy. It has an internal principle of self-

activity, of co-ordination and of substantial unity ; but this principle perishes with the organism, because existence is vested, so to speak, not in the soul alone, but in the compound of soul and body.

There is one consequence which ought to be noticed here. Men, at all times, have shown a commendable anxiety as to the post-mortem fate of the lower animals, and, in particular, of those which, as the saying goes, have something human about them. One need not go back to the days of Plato, nor out to the land of the savage, to find instances of this solicitude. In our own age and civilization, the problem has been gravely discussed, some persons being brought to the trying dilemma, to-wit, that, if the animals are not immortal there is something unfair about the future life, and, if they are immortal, the life to come will be overcrowded. There are several ways of escaping the horns of this difficulty ; but we may safely argue with St. Thomas, that the difficulty, in reality, does not exist. The mere possession of consciousness is no guarantee that the possessor is immortal.

The same conclusion awaits us when we take into account those interruptions of consciousness with which we are all familiar. In profound sleep, there is not, so far as we can ascertain, any conscious activity. As to the nature and the effects upon the organism, of sleep, physiology has not yet said the last word ; but it is safe to say that, when the sleep curve falls to a certain level, even those forms of mental activity which we call dreams either are totally suspended or are so reduced as to leave no record that memory can quote.

Some of our modern thinkers have been at considerable pains to interpret these very obvious facts. According to one view, we are bound to suppose that the stream of consciousness, though it sink very low, does not absolutely stop ; there is still some faint pulsing of mind, and if we have no recollection of it, so much the worse for our memory. According to another view, the soul actually ceases to exist when we fall asleep, and, in some way that is not yet explained, comes back to existence when we awake. By separate roads and in opposite directions, both theories go round one and the same difficulty. What has been mentioned already as the doctrine of parallel-

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ism, works fairly well so long as the two series—the bodily processes and the mental processes—flow on side by side. But, when the conscious series is broken, our trouble begins. Have we not already declared that the brain movement does not produce the conscious process? And if, after an interruption of six or seven hours, the conscious series starts up again, the question is—what starts it? To which we have two answers; the one says boldly—the soul must be created afresh every morning; while the other, more cautious, concludes that we had better not admit a total blotting out of consciousness, even in the deepest sleep.

Whatever be the value of such hypotheses, the logical inference from the facts is quite plain. If consciousness can be suspended, then it stands to reason that, as a mere series of processes or states, it does not necessitate its own continuance either in this life or in any other. But again, if after each suspension, so far as we know, consciousness revives, and if its revival cannot be the effect of an organic process, then the only conclusion that we can reasonably draw is, that the soul is something more than the mental series, that it is a substantial being, which endures though its activities from time to time suffer interruption.

It may, however, be urged, with some plausibility, that this very fluctuation of our conscious life shows the absolute dependence of soul on body. When the organic function sinks to a certain point, or, more concretely, when the blood-supply to the brain is reduced far enough, the conscious processes are suspended; and conversely, when the circulation returns to the normal level, restoring the activity of the brain, the mental activity also reappears. Hence, it would seem to follow that, in the final sleep of death from which the organism does not recover, the life of the soul is forever closed. Granting, therefore, that materialism is wrong, that the mind is not a mere function of the brain, we might still be obliged to regard them as bound together in such a functional relation, that, when one variable, the brain, becomes zero, the other variable, namely, the soul, must likewise and of necessity disappear.

To offset this specious deduction, philosophers have cast about in different directions in search of some quality, or

sign, or characteristic, which might be interpreted as a distinct and incontestable warrant for the soul's ability to survive, in spite of any and all vicissitudes of the bodily life. If such evidence is forthcoming, it will establish a prior claim in favor of immortality, and will settle, at their true value, the facts that are alleged in support of the opposite view.

One line of reasoning that has always carried weight and often produced conviction, is that which rests upon man's desire for immortality. The longing of the human heart to live, the instinctive shrinking from death, the ceaseless struggle for existence, the unwillingness to think that the upward and onward trend of life is to end in a handful of dust, are so many variations of the self-same motif. For pagan and Christian alike, for poet and orator, ruler and priest, this has been a favorite theme. Philosophy, too, on one basis or another, has to reckon with this craving, which it finds implanted in our nature, long before we have any idea of what philosophy means.

Let us glance, then, for a moment at this desire for immortality and try to discern its significance.

Note, in the first place, that it furnishes a groundwork of psychological fact for our reasoning. It is not something that we must simply believe or accept on authority; it is part of our mental experience—a phenomenon that we can observe in ourselves. Vague it may be at times, but, at certain moments, it asserts itself with surprising force, and always, when death draws nigh, the whole power of consciousness seems to go out in the one longing and resolve to live.

Note, secondly, that we do not get at the full meaning of this desire, when we treat it merely as a conscious process—describing it, analyzing it, as we describe and analyze our passing thoughts, emotions, sensations. It offers, no doubt, an interesting problem to psychology; but it offers more, and it claims more, by way of explanation. We do not understand it aright until we have recognized in it the expression of our nature, the protestation of our inmost being against final extinction and death.

Hence the efforts that philosophers have made to show that this longing cannot be in vain, to prove that it places man in

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some universal order, under some world-controlling law, the working out of which must ensure the satisfaction of this desire. Even Kant, after convincing himself that there is no theoretical ground for the doctrine of a future life, argues that immortality is a postulate of the practical reason. The moral law, he teaches, sets before us certain ideals which we are bound to realize but which we cannot realize in the present conditions of sense-existence. Only in one endless progress towards perfection, can we attain the sovereign good required by the moral law, and such a progress involves the continued existence of the soul.

Not unlike this position is that which quite recently has been taken by thinkers who would hesitate to profess their allegiance to Kant. The guarantee for immortality, they tell us, is found in the law of finality. All nature is a manifestation of purpose; all living things, especially, in their organization and development, conform to ideal ends; evolution itself is essentially the carrying out, on a grander scale, of an all-wise, beneficent design. That desire which we find in ourselves, reveals the ultimate aim of our existence, convinces us that, over and above the special ends for which we strive, there is a supreme purpose of life; and since this purpose, in keeping with the universal law of finality, must reach its fulfillment, life itself must extend beyond the limit set by death—must be immortal.

It may well be admitted that these arguments have a force of their own. Their fundamental ideas were current in philosophy long before the days of Kant, and their value was critically established by speculative reason as well as by practical considerations. That the moral order exists, that nature and life are governed by purpose, St. Thomas taught, in no ambiguous terms. He appeals, also, to this innate craving, whenever he discusses the problem of man's destiny, and he brings it under the general principle that nature does nothing in vain. And yet, it is worthy of remark that St. Thomas puts forward this argument cautiously, with a sort of reserve, as though to intimate that too much stress should not be laid on this particular feature of the soul. The desire for perpetuity is, in his estimation, a sign, a suggestion, a token full of significance;



but its real importance lies, not so much in the fact that it is deep-seated, intense, universal, as in its power of manifesting the real nature of the soul from which it springs. In other words, what chiefly appeals to him in this tendency, is not the relation between the tendency and its term, but rather the relation between the tendency and its origin. Instead of arguing: man desires immortality; such desires must be fulfilled; consequently, man must in some way be immortal; he argues: there is, in the soul, a desire to perpetuate its being, and this desire is evidence that the soul is of such a nature that it must survive the body.

In order to develop and appreciate this reasoning, we may single out, from the concise language of St. Thomas, these different points of view:

*First*; the tendency to self-preservation is not peculiar to man. In one form or another it dominates everything that exists. Every particle of matter holds out stubbornly against encroaching forces, resists by its cohesion, answers action by re-action, and yields only when overcome by an agency mightier than itself. But this struggle for reality, as we might call it, implies no conscious effort. Neither the atom nor the mass is in any way aware of an impulse that drives it, or of an end that it pursues. The laws which it obeys are enactments that come from intelligence; but they have no meaning for the thing itself.

*Second*; when consciousness appears, this natural tendency assumes a higher form; it becomes the instinct of self-preservation. The animal is guided by sense-perception in choosing what is helpful and in avoiding what is hurtful. Exertion is the result of craving, and the craving is felt. Thus, feeling and striving consciously, the humblest sentient creature clings at each moment to existence and life. It is only for the moment. Beyond the present utility or the present danger, animal intelligence does not go, and therefore the instinctive desire for existence, so far as the individual is concerned, does not extend to the absolute permanence which means immortality.

*Thirdly*; the longing and the tendency which we discern in our own minds has this peculiarity about it, that it results

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from the conception of existence as absolute and perpetual. We are able to think of ourselves, not only as we are at this instant, and not only as continuing to be through all instants of the future, but as being, apart from the limitations of time and space. Consequently, in us, that vague desire for permanence which is the bent and urging of nature, can be brought to the clear light of consciousness, and so defined, can be elevated to the plane of rational desire.

Consider briefly how much this implies for the character of our mental life and the problem of our destiny. It means the ability to form an idea which is totally different from any product of material energy with which we are acquainted. When we think of existence simply as existence, we purposely eliminate from our thought those conditions under which the object really exists; we do, I might almost say, violence to reality. We cast aside those marks and determinations which locate this or that particular thing and single it out as individual. We disregard the outward form, the size, the position, the properties, even the essential attributes; and, in their stead, we set our concept of being. Protest, if you will, that this is an empty, intangible notion, that it represents nothing that we can picture distinctly and hold firmly in our minds. What concerns us just now, is not so much the value of this idea—its richness or its poverty of meaning—as the nature of the process whereby we get the idea. I will even go farther and say that this lack of value under the one aspect, is precisely what gives it value under the other. What you complain of quite justly is the excessive generality of a concept, for which you can discover no exact counterpart in the real world. You never saw “being”, nor heard it nor laid your hand upon it. Precisely; being, as we conceive it, is the product of the mind’s activity, and the more general the concept is, the more decidedly does it show that the activity which brings it forth is not of one kind with the agencies of the physical world.

Let us carry our analysis to another stage. Between this highly generalized notion—the notion of being—and the actually existing things around us, there is a mediating process; it is the process known as sensation. The mind communicates with the outer world through a complex system of

brain and nerve and terminal organ. Impressions that fall upon eye and ear and skin, are transmitted, by various paths, to a central office ; and we are made conscious of sights and sounds and touches. Regarding the details of this process, we are not yet fully informed. But of this much we are certain : each organ of sense has to do with a particular aspect of the external object, responds, if you prefer the expression, to a special form of physical action—the eye to ether vibrations, the ear to waves in the air, and so on for all the rest. Moreover, as the apparatus of sense develops, both in the individual and in the race, it tends towards a stricter limitation of the work assigned to each organ. In the lowest forms of life, all impressions are received equally over all portions of the organism, whereas, in the highest form, in ourselves, there are distinct organs for each sort of impression. Hence, we may say that sensation is more perfect in proportion as it is more closely limited to a specialized mode of activity ; or, in other words, the less general the senses and their objects become, the better it is for their purpose.

Now, the immediate inference you have probably drawn already. Organic activity, so far as we can study it, displays no capacity for those processes by which the mind rises to the concept of being. On the contrary, the distinctness and vividness which make sensation so satisfactory, are due to their limitations. Hence, we may say that these two great forms of mental action—intellect and sense—are, as concerns the character of their object, in inverse ratio. Sense is more perfect as it is more particular ; intellect is more perfect as its concepts are more general.

This, I say, is the obvious conclusion. But now remember that the soul plays its part in sensory processes no less than in the higher intellectual processes. What happens in the organs and nerves, is no mere mechanical movement, upon which the soul looks down and from which it picks out its general ideas. The soul, St. Thomas teaches, is active all the way through—down to the very ends of each fibre. When, therefore, the mind produces its idea, the production is different, in itself and in its results—*first*, from the mode of existence of real objects in the concrete world ; *second*, from the

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behavior of the material organs of sense; *third*, from the activity which the soul itself exerts through those organs.

Significant as these considerations are, they do not exhaust the meaning of that desire for existence which we took as the point of departure in our analysis. For what, after all, does the analysis import, except it be that the soul can turn its gaze upon itself and watch its own doings? The whole truth is not told when it is said: there is, in each human mind, a longing for immortality. What we must say is: each human mind perceives this longing in itself. I perceive it in my mind, and you, when you choose to take notice, perceive it in your mind. Thus, by a process of reflection, as it is called, the mind can regard as objects its own subjective states. It does not import its entire stock of knowledge from the outer world; it has resources of its own, more difficult perhaps of access, but nevertheless within its reach.

We are accustomed to speak of the mind as a mirror, and to say that it reflects external objects, as the glass does. But this figure should not be carried too far. The mind does form in itself representations of other things; but it is not simply a passive mirror. The images which it receives are not absolute copies of the original; the ideas which it conceives are more of its own making, and upon both image and idea it can return, reflecting upon its own reflections.

When we become aware of a process taking place in our minds, when we consider, for instance, our natural desire for immortal life, there arises in consciousness the notion of activity. This also is an abstract idea, second only, in order of generality, to the idea of being. Concerning its origin, philosophers are not agreed. One theory holds that it is derived from our knowledge of transactions in the outer world, and then applied, in a secondary way, to our conscious life. According to another theory, it originates in our knowledge of ourselves, and is projected to things outside; so that we interpret the world in terms derived from our inner experience. In either case, it retains its importance for the question before us. For when we use it in reference to conscious processes, the application is immediate; the idea of activity gets itself realized at once in the feeling of activity. Whereas, when we

apply this concept to what occurs in the brain, we travel by a roundabout path. It is only through a series of inferences that we are led to the point where we can speak confidently of "cerebral activity", and, even then, we are not prepared to state exactly what this activity is. The assertion, in particular, that every process in the mind has a parallel process in the brain, is based on indirect evidence; and the assumption that the mental activity depends essentially upon the brain activity, has still less to offer in its favor.

To the discussion of this point, we must now return, equipped with the various items of information which our analysis of the desire for immortality has yielded. The mind, we have seen, is capable of processes which are just the reverse of what we should expect from a material organ. It is able, on one hand, to transfigure to its own forms the world of real objects, and, on the other, to set out its own subjective states as objects for its reflection. And, finally, it verifies, by immediate intuition of its processes that concept of activity which it applies, by circuitous routes, to the changes that occur in the brain.

What interpretation shall we put upon these facts of consciousness? The very least that we can say is, that the phenomena of mind differ radically from the phenomena of matter. Assuming that they run on in parallel series, we must still admit that the processes in the mental series are not identical in origin and connection with the processes in the other series. But can we content ourselves with this conception of mind as a series? The question has been more than once asked by eminent psychologists: how can a series become aware of itself? How, in other words, shall we account for the fact of reflection, if mind is simply a linking together of mental states? And to these queries we may add one which seems to be pertinent. How, on this supposition, could the idea of a series ever have arisen in the mind? The state or process which is at this moment in consciousness, certainly cannot look beyond itself to future states; and at most, if it is alert enough, it can catch but a glimpse of the state that immediately precedes it. It seems more rational to say that we form the idea of a series because there is something permanent which holds together successive states.

The substance of mind, we are sometimes told, is distinguished from all material things because it is simple, while they are compound. It has no parts, one outside of the other, and therefore no extension, no divisibility. Hence, too, it cannot be broken to pieces or decomposed. And thanks to this simplicity, it survives when the organism decays, it suffers no diminution, it is immortal.

This argument, of course, is attractive. It seems, at first glance, to be the best translation into philosophical conclusions of those facts which are found in consciousness. But it is not the meaning which presents itself most forcefully to St. Thomas. He admits, I need scarcely say, that simplicity is a characteristic of the soul: but, in this respect, the soul is not an exceptional being. All those internal principles which initiate the action of living things—the plant-soul and the brute-soul—are simple and indivisible: yet they are not, on that account, insured against death. They perish, because the organism which supports them is destroyed—as the current that causes the carbon or wire to glow, stops short when the circuit is broken.

Suppose now that the current were able to maintain itself, that it supplied the dynamo with power and the wire with conductivity. In such a state of things, we might easily understand how the electricity would continue, though the dynamo should break down and the wire should burn out.

Somewhat analogous to this is the mode of existence which St. Thomas ascribes to the soul. Not as a simple substance, but as a real being capable of acting in and through itself, capable, therefore, of independent subsistence, the soul is immortal.

Let us examine briefly the several propositions woven into this argument. One declares: that which is capable of independent subsistence, is immortal. This, I think, will be granted, if only we remember that, according to St. Thomas, the subsistence in question implies independence, both from things outside and from any detachable internal principle. Man, though subsistent, is not immortal, because he has in himself the principle of his being—he, as man, is not that principle.

Another proposition: The soul is capable of independent subsistence. What evidence have we for this statement? The only evidence that can be furnished or demanded—namely, that the soul manifests an activity which proceeds from itself, and not from the organism as a joint factor. We know that sensation, imagination and emotion issue from the soul through the body; they are organic. But, the very qualities and conditions that adapt the body to these functions, are just the reverse of what is required for such processes as the idea of being, reflection and the perception of self. It is unthinkable that vision should take place without an eye, or hearing without an ear; and it is equally unthinkable that any material organ, more complex even than the brain, should bring forth an abstract idea.

But, it may be urged, though the brain does not produce the idea, though it does not, to use a hackneyed expression, "secrete thought," yet, it is an indispensable factor, a *conditio sine qua non* of all mental activity. A thousand facts attest this dependence, and one fact is of more weight than much metaphysics.

This, of course, is the crucial point; and, while we cannot discuss it fully at present, it is worth while considering it from St. Thomas' position. Here, then, are the precise terms of the problem. We are certain that in our intellectual processes, the mind is somehow active; the brain, at any rate, does not do everything. But again, we are informed that the brain activity, considered apart from the conscious activity, is merely a tangle of intricate movements—a labyrinth of particles darting to and fro. And it is evident that movement cannot be transformed into thought. If, therefore, this cerebral activity plays a part, and an important part, in our conscious life, it must be in virtue of some acquired characteristic, which differentiates it from the behavior of merely physical energy; it must be owing to the efficacy of some principle that is superior to any material agency. Now this principle which permeates, actuates and, in some manner, transforms the matter and the movement of the brain, is, according to St. Thomas, the soul itself. Consequently, the parallel is not between the

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soul-activity on one side and a series of mechanical processes on the other ; but between one phase of activity issuing directly from the soul, and another phase of its activity which first, as it were, sinks down into the organic structure, and then emerges at the level of consciousness, as sensation or sensory image.

But, on this basis, it follows that the dependence whereof we speak, is, in the last analysis, a dependence of the soul upon itself. Any function that the brain can put forward to validate its claim as a sharer in the soul's activity, is borrowed from the soul. And therefore, strictly speaking, it is truer to say that the brain depends upon the soul, than to say that the soul depends upon the brain. Whence also it follows that the soul is not only the source of its own peculiar activities, but that it supplies and supports the entire activity and life of the body ; it not only subsists by an inviolable right to reality, but it confers upon the organism the title to real existence.

We are thus brought in view of our final interpretation, in which the various items of the discussion may be summarized.

The natural craving of man for immortality is an unmistakable fact of consciousness. It implies in the soul certain activities, which, in turn, are evidence that the soul is capable of independent existence. When, therefore, the question is submitted : Does the soul survive when, at death, the material organism falls away from it ? The verdict of reason would seem to be this. Judging by what we know of the soul's nature and of its relations to the body, it must survive, must be, in other words, immortal. The longing for life is no illusion ; it is simply the stirring within us of that impulse which the Supreme Intelligence and Will imparts to the soul in making it, like Himself, an intellectual being.

Thereby is manifested the sovereign purpose to which the Universe, in its orderly arrangement, is directed. Each concrete material thing is a limited expression of the Divine Idea. The original which, in God's mind is one, is imitated by a multitude of copies. In our thought, this multitude is again reduced to unity ; so that our thinking, in spite of its imper-

fection, is a closer imitation of the thought of God. But, as every imitation suggests the original, arouses a desire to attain the original, so, the very trend of our minds, in the ceaseless pursuit of knowledge, is really towards the Source of Truth. Immortality, therefore, is more than the fulfillment of our personal desire. It is the completion, in a higher, more perfect life, of the cycle of thought and volition which, issuing from God, returns, through human intelligence, to Him, as the ultimate aim of order in the world.

EDWARD A. PACE.

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## THE "RECONSTRUCTION" OF CHRISTIANITY.

### I.—MR. HYDE'S ESSAY IN RECONSTRUCTION.

The distinguished president of Bowdoin College has recently published a little book full of instruction for all who take an interest, either practical or speculative, in the crisis through which religious thought is passing among those who may be considered the mental descendants of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> An ever-increasing tendency to dispense with all creed or dogmatic belief, and to supply its place by making the moral element the sole essential of religion is at work everywhere among Christian sects outside the Catholic Church. It is popularly expressed in the saying that what a man believes is of no importance provided he obeys his conscience and leads a moral life. Earnest men, alarmed at the rapidity with which the process of disintegration and destruction has run its course in the religious sphere, are devoting much thought to placing morality on a rock from which it may defy the tide of unbelief and scepticism which is so rapidly sweeping away the shifting sands on which was reared dogmatic Protestantism. When it is presumed that modern science has demonstrated that the miraculous and the supernatural are synonymous with the absurd and the impossible, the only basis of moral values is to be found in a natural theism, which seeks the ultimate sanction of conscience in the will of God. On this plane, undoubtedly, a consistent system of natural religion and natural morality may be evolved. But there are many who, while they reject the supernatural as impossible, yet from a desire to establish some appearance of continuity between their views and historic Protestantism, or from a consciousness of the beauty and efficacy of institutions which belong to dogmatic religion, endeavor to make a place for them in a system based on pure rationalism.

To all of these facts Mr. Hyde bears eloquent witness. He considers that the general acceptance of the doctrine of evo-

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<sup>1</sup>God's Education of Man, by William De Witt Hyde, Boston, 1899.

lution and the universal diffusion of the results of historical and Biblical criticism have demolished all theological systems.<sup>1</sup> At present "the current creed of Christendom is a chaos of contradiction. Truths and lies, facts and fancies, intuitions and superstitions, essentials and excrescences, all bound in one bundle of tradition, which the honest believer finds hard to swallow whole and which the honest doubter is equally reluctant *in toto* to reject."<sup>2</sup> "There is," he states, "no accepted body of doctrine, clear cut, well reasoned, consistently and comprehensively thought out, which you can count upon hearing when you enter a Christian church."<sup>3</sup> He recognizes that such a state of chaos is naturally repugnant to the human mind. We are steadily impelled by a law of our rational nature to establish some consistency in our beliefs and some rational ground for our practical conduct. There are a great many, dimly conscious that they are holding intellectual principles at variance with religious modes of thought, and religious practices which appeal strongly to their emotional part. In response to this innate craving for consistency, Mr. Hyde would endeavor to find some point of view which will bring harmony out of chaos, and from which the various beliefs of Protestant Christianity, as it exists to-day, which now seem in hopeless disorder and conflict, will appear but the mutually dependent parts of an orderly system. The task which Mr. Hyde undertakes is a reconstruction of Christianity "adjusted to modern scientific and philosophical conceptions." He will "restate in modern terms the essential truths which the ancient doctrines of sin, redemption and sanctification sought to express."<sup>4</sup> He undertakes to discover "the germ of life in the old and somewhat decrepit body of current tradition," "and from that vital germ we must breed the fair and vigorous body of the faith that is to be." The new faith will, he thinks, be a reproduction of the essential features of the old in fresh vigorous functional relationship.<sup>5</sup>

We have said that Mr. Hyde's book is instructive. But, in saying so we do not mean that Mr. Hyde's views commend

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit. p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Ib. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ib. p. 47.

<sup>4</sup>Ib. Introduction, p. iv.

<sup>5</sup>Ib. p. 2.



themselves to reason, or that he has succeeded in making one step toward the goal that he proposed to himself. The interest with which we follow him is not that which is worked by a satisfactory demonstration, but that with which one sees the destruction of a false hypothesis by a *reductio ad absurdum*. The book affords instruction in the same way as information is given to the student of pathology by an organism displaying the workings of a malignant disease which has almost run its course and is overpowering the flickering forces of life as it hastens rapidly to the inevitable catastrophe. In the phase of religious life which Mr. Hyde's book lays open for us, we see the outcome of the two characteristic tenets of the Reformation. One, that is justification by faith alone, has been displaced by its direct contradictory, which makes morality the be-all and the end-all of religion. The other, the principle of private judgment as opposed to authority, pursuing its development under the rigorous laws of logical thought, is extinguishing successively every feature that differentiates Christianity from natural theism. These object-lessons of Mr. Hyde's book we shall endeavor briefly to bring out.

Turning to the table of contents one finds enumerated all the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Christianity:—Christ, the Son of God; The Holy Spirit, the Doctrine of the Trinity; Sin and Atonement; the Function of Dogma; Grace; Vicarious Sacrifice; the Sacrifice and Forgiveness of Christ. Rationalist and orthodox believer will heartily agree that the pages which are to restate these doctrines of supernatural religion in terms of a scientific system which rejects the supernatural, root and branch, either will consist chiefly of verbal inanities or they will reveal an intellect mightier far than any that has ever devoted itself to philosophic meditation. A perusal of the book can hardly fail to convince any careful reader that Mr. Hyde's logical powers of either analysis or synthesis, as far as they are exhibited in it, are as inefficient as his moral earnestness is worthy of commendation and respect. It would be a sheer waste of time to point out that the meaning which Mr. Hyde attaches to these various terms has nothing in common with the one that for centuries they have conveyed to the believer.

But to illustrate the falseness of Mr. Hyde's position, and the impossibility of any "reconstruction of Christianity" on a merely natural and non-miraculous basis, it will be sufficient to show that consistently with his attitude toward the supernatural he cannot attach any real sense at all to the terms which he nominally retains.

Let us take for granted what every theist and every Christian holds to be true, that the Universal Will of God is the ultimate standard of right and wrong, that morality and the whole duty of man consists in keeping his will and conduct in harmony with the Divine Will. We must point out, however, that when Mr. Hyde assumes this as an indisputable truth, in his attempt to restate ancient doctrine in terms of modern evolutionary views, he has to deal with the fact that the great apostle of evolution as applied to the moral life, Mr. Herbert Spencer, eliminates God entirely from the moral problem.

The first and most important subject for consideration is, of course, what we are to hold concerning the Founder of Christianity. Mr. Hyde, rejecting the supernatural, sees in Jesus a man more gifted, with a deeper moral and religious insight than any other, but nowise essentially different from his fellows. He had no miraculous mission, no special and peculiar authority from the great First Cause. His authority as a moral and religious teacher was of the same kind as that which Sir Isaac Newton had to publish his *Principia*, or Mr. Spencer to give the world his *First Principles*—the authority which any man has to impart useful information. Now, antecedently to the birth of Jesus, the consciousness of a universal moral order had emerged in various and frequently grotesque forms. Slowly there arose, chiefly among the Hebrew people, the consciousness that justice and mercy are the true adjustments of the individual to the social environment, the supreme demands of the Divine Will. This insight of the Hebrew prophets which, Mr. Hyde remarks, tallied with the analysis of the Greek philosophers, was taken up by Jesus and made the central principle of His religion. Besides, Jesus recognizing that the Universal Will must be personal, conceived the

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happy thought of designating it by the name of Father. So when Jesus called Himself the Son of God it was a metaphorical expression of the relation in which he as a human creature stood, and in which all human creatures stand to the Universal Source of all reality. Thus far the rationalist will go along amicably with Mr. Hyde. The Christian will waive his right to ask a few pertinent questions as to the how that "modern science," which believes in gradual development from lower to higher forms, can account for the strange fact that an illiterate Jew should have conceived a moral system incomparably more harmonious, beautiful and perfect than can be made from any synthesis of all that is best in ancient philosophy.

But Mr. Hyde's difficulties with the rationalist begin when he proceeds to unfold his views of Christ. "An effective spiritual and social movement must have a human head, a personal Lord, a real Master. Such a Lord and Master the Christian finds in Christ."<sup>1</sup> Again Mr. Hyde writes, "the man or church that presumes to separate the doing of the Will of God from loyalty to the person of Jesus Christ is sure to become as amateurish as the novice in any art or science who ventures to disregard the best that has been done before him and to set up on his own account. For a man or church the measure of devotion and love to Jesus Christ is the accurate and infallible measure of practical power, etc."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hyde tells us then, that in order to place our will in due harmony with the Universal Will, we must have a personal love for, and acknowledge as our living Lord and Master, a certain man who passed out of existence nearly two thousand years ago. Now, speaking in the name of the modern "scientific" spirit which rejects the supernatural, we respectfully submit that this is absurd. Personal love and loyalty requires that the object of it should be in existence. We cherish the memory of the dead, we venerate their character and respect their last wishes. If they have been conspicuous teachers we accept their views as long as they are found to be in harmony with our extended knowledge. But modern science has no knowledge of an existence beyond the grave. It has but a smile of contemptuous pity for the man who still acknowledges the empire of superstition

<sup>1</sup>Ib. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Ib.

so far as to fancy that there exists any real communication between the living and the dead. Christ was an ethical leader, essentially identical in nature with Socrates for example, or any other of those Greek philosophers whose analysis, to use Mr. Hyde's expression, coincided with the doctrine of Christ. Now Mr. Hyde would hardly admit that a man who should find in the lofty doctrine of the Academy his highest ideal could "unsphere the spirit of Plato" and enter into personal communion with it. Yet to the modern sciences, before whose judgments Mr. Hyde respectfully bows, Jesus is no more an actuality than is Plato. There is a large amount of noble morality to be found in the Avesta. Benevolence towards our fellows, which is the sum total of Christian morality in Mr. Hyde's estimation, is inculcated as frequently as it is in the New Testament. Yet modern scientists, and we may presume Mr. Hyde too, would shrug their shoulders as at another of human vagaries if a Parsee were to talk of personal union with Zoroaster, and loyalty to him as a personal Lord and Master. Yet in what does the position of Jesus radically differ from that of Zoroaster? Both were noble men, but men they were; they died and worms have eaten them. The modern mathematician embodies in his knowledge the principles which Newton and Descartes first brought to light. But he does not talk or think any such absurdity as that an acceptance of their conclusions postulates personal love and loyalty to these departed worthies. The modern artist may derive great assistance from the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo, or the Medicean Venus, without conceiving any personal love for the producers of these immortal works. Certainly it is in the form of the concrete and the personal that moral instruction appeals to us most efficaciously. When we come in contact with other persons we are all subject to influences which are so strongly produced by some that personal magnetism has become a commonplace word. But a lapse of nineteen hundred years prevents such contact between us and Jesus of Nazareth. It might have been eminently proper to some one of his contemporary disciples to speak in the strain which Mr. Hyde adopts, but the nineteenth century is too late a day for such possibilities. The life of Christ brings more vividly before our minds the beauty of

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morality ; his realization of his own teachings, adds to them double weight ; and in his conduct we have an admirable ideal to hold before us. "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime." Patriotism receives a new vigor from the perusal of the story of Winkelried or the history of the army of Valley Forge. Our will to do good to our fellows is stimulated strongly as we read the biographies of Flora Nightingale and John Howard. But this impetus which we experience towards virtue fails to bring us into communication with the gallant Switzer or the Continental army. Flora Nightingale and John Howard can be communed with only at a spiritualistic seance. And our relation to these various illustrious examples of particular virtues is radically the same as our relation to the person who offers us the best example of all the virtues combined. To the consistent rationalist, along with whom Mr. Hyde rejects the supernatural, Mr. Hyde's language belongs to the realm of the imagination, and is a statement of nothing in the terms of modern science.

But Mr. Hyde has in store for us views still more repulsive to the rationalist mind. We are not merely to entertain personal love for and loyalty to this dead man. While fully admitting that this deceased man was nowise essentially different from anybody else, yet because he had a profound apprehension of the moral law, and put his knowledge into practice, Mr. Hyde declares that unless we worship this man as Divine, our belief in the existence of God must perish. He writes : "When Jesus Christ is thus accepted as the historic embodiment of the Will of God it is the most natural thing in the world to identify him with the will which he embodies, and to worship him as divine."<sup>1</sup>

"If God be to us," he continues, "not the problematical product of some far-fetched speculation concerning the ultimate origin of the cosmic process, but the manifest presence of a holy will working for the righteousness and blessedness of man, and if Christ be to us the historic bearer and the supreme personal expression, and ultimate spiritual interpreter of that blessed will of God—then to call this man Jesus less than

<sup>1</sup>Ib. p. 29.



divine or to quarrel with the title Son of God is to empty the very name of God of all the historic associations and concrete content that gives it worth and makes it worshipful. To deny divinity to Christ is to relegate all divinity whatever to the far-off shadowy realms of metaphysical enquiry. If the flesh and blood of the man whose meat and drink it was to do the Will of God be not divine, then the days of faith in a living God are numbered and the feet of the agnostic are at the door to carry out the corpse."<sup>1</sup> These statements contain a large measure of objective truth. They do credit to Mr. Hyde's heart, and afford a proof of Tertullian's saying "*anima humana naturaliter Christiana*." But while the emotional side prompts them, he can assent to them only by ignoring the protests of his intellect, as long as he holds that the founder of Christianity was a mere human being. In his first chapter he unfolds his grounds for believing in the existence of God: the human mind is compelled to postulate a Universal Reality as the basis of all human relationships; a Universal Intelligence and Will as the necessary postulate of human thought and will. "This absolute Thought and Universal Will is the unescapable reality which the world agrees to call God."<sup>2</sup> Morality and religion consist in the devout acceptance of the Will of God. As a rationalist I accept this doctrine; I agree furthermore with Mr. Hyde in recognizing Jesus of Nazareth to have been the best exponent—theoretically and practically—of morality, which history has shown. But when Mr. Hyde tells me I can not continue to hold these beliefs, and to act upon them unless I adore this man, and hold his flesh and blood to be divine, I perceive that Mr. Hyde has ceased to use the language of reason. For Mr. Hyde, as long as he adheres to his fundamental position this nominal deification of a man is but meaningless verbiage. Besides, what grounds has he for assuming that Christ is the "supreme and ultimate" interpreter of the Will of God? Uninterrupted development is the watchword of the age; it is the continual process of development, and the advance of science which, in the opinion of Mr. Hyde, and all his school, have exploded the creeds of the past, and rendered

<sup>1</sup>Ib. p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Ib. p. 7.

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a "reconstruction of Christianity" imperative, in order that it may have the approbation of our reason. If this is true, then it is absurd to suppose that an uneducated Jew, two thousand years ago, spoke the last word that human intelligence is ever to know concerning the moral evolution of the cosmic process. The Actuality of the Infinite is inexhaustible, and human intelligence, though it may never compass Infinity, must nevertheless continue to ascend to higher peaks of discovery, and gain an ever widening horizon of knowledge, reaching a deeper and deeper insight into human nature and the relations of men to men, and of all to the great First Cause. Where then is there any ground for assuming that one mind has exhausted the most intricate feature of the Infinite problem? The ethics and moral code of Jesus are valid and authoritative to the rationalist just so far forth as our reason approves of them: to assign to them any transcendent objective authority involves the implication that they are not the product of the human mind. In this way does Mr. Hyde continually entangle himself; he concedes the rationalistic axiom that the supernatural is impossible, yet he continually makes assertions that either mean nothing or imply that the character of Christ was more than human. Again what can divinity mean, except as a mere hyperbole, when applied to a man? If a finite moral cause, by acting in harmony with the First Cause, is to be identified with it, why not physical causes which are always by an inexorable necessity in perfect accord with it? And if we thus identify them we have passed the dividing line between Pantheism and Theism. Then logically we must go a step further and admit that all secondary causes are but the manifestations of the Primary, and if so, the distinction of right and wrong has vanished.

Another consideration will illustrate the extravagant character of Mr. Hyde's attempt to speak of Christ in terms of orthodoxy, while standing on a rationalistic platform. While he approves the moral code of Christ as the most reasonable, there are many minds who believe as firmly as he does in the existence of a Supreme Being, and trace the moral law to that Universal Will, yet who take not Christ but some other personage to be the historic exponent of the Divine Will. Now

according to Mr. Hyde's logic these persons would have the same right to confer the title of Son of God upon their historic ideal, as Mr. Hyde has to apply it to Christ. To be consistent, Mr. Hyde should admit that a pious Mahometan ought to call his Prophet the Son of God, and maintain that if the flesh and blood of Mahomet be not divine then the days of faith in a living God are numbered. Mr. Hyde, we judge, would not consider this a possible concession. Besides, is it not the height of the absurd for any one who rejects the supernatural and miraculous to speak of the flesh and blood of a man, which must long since have disappeared in the cosmic process, as if they were actually in existence?

Throughout his entire treatment of his subject Mr. Hyde continues to use language quite intelligible from an orthodox standpoint, but utterly incoherent on the hypothesis that Jesus was only a mere mortal being. The soul is assumed to be in communion with that of the Master. For example,—“the external sacrament of baptism is a welcome assurance against the conflicting witness of the rebellious elements within. The reproduction of the Christ-like example and spirit within him is so slow and partial that he doubts whether he belongs to Christ after all. Then the sacrament of the Lord's Supper brings direct from the instituting will of the Master the assurance that to all who in earnestness and sincerity will do a simple act expressive of their desire to receive Him, to them and so often as they do it, Christ gives Himself anew, with pardon for their sins and fresh strength for the renewal of the struggle.”<sup>1</sup> Now if the rebellious elements within me are asserting themselves so that my will is not conforming to the Universal Will what welcome assurance or source of strength have I in the fact that once upon a time, possibly when I was incapable of giving even a passive consent to the performance, somebody poured a little water on my head to signify that my parents were desirous that I should be instructed in the ethics of Christ? It would be just as reasonable to fancy that a clerk in a merchant's office on finding himself strongly inclined to embezzle some of his employer's money should find a welcome

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 158.

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assurance in the reflection that once he had toddled around the nursery wearing a badge on which was printed "I am a good boy." How, again, can eating a cake and drinking a glass of wine, even though I wish thereby to typify my adhesion to the doctrine of Christ, give me a man who has been dead twenty centuries, with or without forgiveness of sins, or fresh strength for the conflict? If my will is in harmony with the Universal Will, the Omniscient is aware of the fact; if not, the consumption of no amount of cake and wine will establish that harmony. Those ceremonies, or any other such, may serve as a gracious commemoration of a Teacher, they may help as a bond of fraternal union among those who share the same ethical views, and may thereby contribute to the general enthusiasm. The explosion of gunpowder and parades contribute, according to popular opinion, to nourish our patriotism. But even the extensive license for the use of hyperbole conceded to patriotic orators would be exceeded by anyone who should venture to say that George Washington gives himself to us on such occasions. Yet if we reject the supernatural, in deference to modern positivism, then we know just as much about George Washington's continued existence as we do about Christ's; the soul of the one is just as likely to communicate itself to us as the soul of the other. And when shall we find—what Mr. Hyde says we have, without indicating whence we derive them—"the best possible grounds of assurance that every soul that does enter here and now into the divine life of love, into the service of Christ, into the fellowship of the spirit, will not be suffered to drop into nothingness, but will be raised with Christ in the power of the spirit into a blessed immortality."<sup>1</sup> The modern science into which Mr. Hyde feels it imperatively necessary to translate Christianity knows nothing of such assurance, and when it does not deny, shakes its head dubiously at the hypothesis. Is immortality to be taken for granted on the word of Christ? He knew what his reason could discover, since he was but a man, and no more concerning the problem which has haunted the human mind for ages. We look in vain through all his reported discourses for any argument that proves the immortality of the soul. Plato attempted to

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<sup>1</sup>Ib. p. 44.

demonstrate it, Christ never. He may have believed it, but as a man, he knew no more about it with certainty than, to use an illustration from Mr. Hyde, he knew about the problems of history and criticism in the world to-day. If he were a mere man, then about this question he knew just as much as Voltaire's Zadig: "Il en savait ce qu'on en a su dans tous les âges—c'est-à-dire fort peu de chose." If we are to re-state religion in terms of modern science—assuming that modern science has disproved the supernatural—the less we say about immortality the better. When it strikes the note of immortality modern science gives a very discordant sound. And Mr. Hyde has nothing but philosophical reasoning to fall back upon when investigating this topic. It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Hyde through his "reconstruction" of the other great doctrines of Christianity; he pursues the same method everywhere, and everywhere reaches similar results. Vicarious suffering is the opposition and hardship which a social reformer experiences in his endeavor to benefit others. Justification by faith signifies the confidence we feel in a person whose influence over us tends to raise us to a higher moral plane. Grace is the fulfillment of the moral law, not from a sense of obligation, but from a sense of gratitude towards God, or benevolence towards men. "When I do or refrain from doing something, not because the law outside me says I must, but because gratitude and loyalty within me say I ought, then I have passed from bondage to liberty, from law to grace, from dead works to a living faith."<sup>1</sup> Again, Mr. Hyde writes, "all service freely rendered to others without hope of reward is a manifestation of grace."<sup>2</sup> Grace, then, is something superior to the mere observance of the law of right and wrong, as a law, something transcending mere morality. Yet when exposing the ethical basis of morality and religion, Mr. Hyde makes both consist in all their perfection, in doing the work of God, because it is the Universal Law; and "the man who has this disposition has God in his life, Christ in his heart, the Holy Spirit in his soul."<sup>3</sup> Surely this disposition implies gratitude towards God,

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 12.

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and benevolence to our fellows; if so, then to draw a sharp distinction between conduct prompted by these motives and observance of the Universal Will, recognized as the law of right and wrong, is a mere stringing together of words which convey no intelligible ideas.

The hollowness of Mr. Hyde's essay towards an outlining of the "reorganized faith of the future (which) will not be such a very different faith from the faith of the fathers" comes out still more palpably in his effort to make a place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. When we conform our conduct to any law or ideal, we are said to act in the spirit of such law or ideal. A great statesman or eminent lawyer is said to have imbibed the spirit of the Constitution. The expression is intelligible to even the illiterate and is recognized by them to be a mere figure of speech, indicating a particular disposition or attitude of the will. This disposition is something attaching to the individual in the same way as any particular manner in which he carries his body. Now this figure of speech, by the simple device of using two capital letters, Mr. Hyde transforms into the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity and proceeds to speak of it in terms that might have been used by the Fathers of the Council of Nice. For example he writes: "In so far as ordinary men and women do this same will of God, they too become partakers of the Divine Nature and the Spirit of God dwelleth in them. And here again the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, dwelling in devout and humble, though frail and imperfect, human hearts, is not merely *like* God, *similar* to the Divine, but *is* God, *is of the same nature* with the Divine. Approached from this point of view, the divinity of the Holy Spirit is as self-evident and obvious as the divinity of Christ Himself."<sup>1</sup> Again we say that the words of Mr. Hyde in the mouth of an orthodox Christian would express a profound truth. But for him who holds that Christ was a mere man and that only what we can discover and prove by the help of our reason alone is to be accepted in the domain of religion as in that of science, they are what Mr. Herbert Spencer would call symbolic concepts of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 31.



illegitimate order, "altogether vicious and illusive, and in no way distinguishable from pure fictions."

The ancient Romans deified abstract qualities such as Pallor, Constantia, Verecundia: the "reconstructed Christianity" is largely made up of similar features. Besides the ethical basis from which Mr. Hyde started, common to Christianity and purely rational Theism, it contains nothing but a liberal apotheosis of metaphor. A consistent rationalist must regard Mr. Hyde's essay in reconstruction as a futile attempt to obscure Theism, through a darkening of counsel by words without wisdom. The procedure, he will add, is not merely useless, but positively pernicious, since it obscures the sound scientific conception of religion by arraying it in the tawdry rags of extinct superstition. That such a performance could emanate from a man who has accepted the principles of rationalism he would probably regard as an evidence of the tenacity with which anthropomorphism clings to the religious mind. On the other hand if any souls perplexed by the prevalent condition of scepticism and confusion should look to it for some clue to a reconciliation of their Christian faith with the rationalism of to-day they cannot but be reminded of the

"juggling fiends

"That palter to us in a double sense,

"That keep the word of promise to our ear

"And break it to our hope."

Rationalism I know and Christianity I know; but what art thou?

## II.—THE CAUSE OF DECOMPOSITION.

The widely prevalent movement of to-day to cast aside all dogmatic belief and confine religion to ethical good, is an eloquent comment on the teachings of the Reformation. If two doctrines were to be selected as being common to all the Reformed churches, the first would, of course, be that of the right of private judgment as opposed to authority. The second might be that which affirmed that justification and favor before God depended on faith alone, to the exclusion of moral good works. The latter indeed was strictly a Lutheran tenet; but

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its influence was exerted far outside Lutheranism, and may be traced in the theology and even in the popular hymns of all forms of Protestantism. The latter doctrine struck at what is vital in natural religion ; the former was the implicit rejection of the supernatural.

By the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which Luther defended against Catholic theologians, moral conduct is denied to have any bearing on the relation in which the soul stands to God. Man is pleasing or displeasing to Him, according to Luther, not because he fulfills or violates the moral law but accordingly as he does or does not place all his confidence in the merits of Christ's redemption. He continually draws the strictest line of separation between religion and morality. The moral law is not to be allowed to intrude upon or disturb the conscience. The observance of the moral law is to be no pre-occupation of the regenerated soul that clings steadfastly to Christ. The maintenance of that law he would leave to civil authority as a necessity of temporal order. His famous dictum : *Pecca fortiter et crede fortius* is the formulation of the doctrine in all its naked extravagance. The moral and religious nature of man, in which the tendency to believe in a Supreme Being has always been accompanied with a corresponding belief that this Being is the vigilant guardian of the moral law, was a sufficient guarantee that this extraordinary doctrine should never become widely applied to the conduct of life. But, as a theoretical principle this severance of religion and morality has contributed a great deal to bring about the anti-religious movement in modern ethics which aimed at establishing morality on a basis entirely independent of any belief in God. There has been in our time, with a vast parade of biology, an attempt to demonstrate that the disappearance of all religion might take place without any injury to genuine morality. The proposition is but a corollary of the one that asserts religion to be entirely above and superior to morality. One consolatory conclusion we may draw from the present widespread movement to make the moral life the essential of religion, is that the efforts of the ethical schools of Mill and Spencer have failed in their purpose of convincing the present generation that morality needs not God for a background.

To-day, the successors of the men who maintained against the Catholic Church that morality is no element of religion, are proclaiming that, on the contrary, it is the one eternal essential of all true religion. It is a suggestive spectacle when we see the children endeavoring to stay the ruin and dilapidation of the paternal mansion by making the stone which the father rejected the head of the corner. Thus the whirligig of time brings round its revenge.

The other and the fundamental principle of the Reformation, that of the right of private judgment to the exclusion of authority, is essentially a principle of destruction and disintegration. When it was introduced into a religion professing to have an authoritative creed, that religion contained within itself two elements which could not permanently co-exist. Catholic writers since the days of Bellarmine have been insisting upon this truth. Three hundred years have been required, however, for its practical demonstration. But the chaotic condition of Protestant belief and doctrine to-day, to which Mr. Hyde, among hundreds of others testifies, is a demonstration that he who runs may read. From the first the character of the principle displayed itself by the ever-increasing divisions and sects into which the great Protestant bodies were rent. Variation of belief is a necessary consequence of it. If the judgment of the individual is the ultimate tribunal and authority in religious affairs, then as no two minds are exactly alike the views on religion are practically numberless. If there is agreement between two or more, that agreement comes not in virtue of this principle but in spite of it. Some form of authority and unity was, of course very illogically, retained by each Protestant body; such authority succeeded more or less in holding members together in some kind of loose external union. Legal establishment and social forces gave a prolonged lease of existence to many. But the disintegrating force worked on incessantly within. "The Bible and the Bible alone as the religion of Protestants" long served as a shibboleth; for the Bible was looked upon as the very Word of God. Protestantism has taken the Bible to be the Word of God, on the authority of the Catholic Church, at the same time denying that authority. The position was absurd from the first

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day ; but time and circumstance were required to bring out the contradiction. Now the hour and the occasion have come. Modern scepticism denies the inspiration of the Scriptures ; and declares them, on the contrary, to be as purely a production of the human mind as the *Rig-Veda* or *Romeo and Juliet*. Various criteria have been imagined by different sects to prove the divine authorship, but all have been ruled out of court as incapable of offering any reliable testimony. The Divine Author Himself refuses to give any indication that the book is His. Protestantism stands in abject discomfiture before its merciless antagonist. The thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession have equally ceased to have any binding force on those who are nominally supposed to adhere to them. And the officials whose place it is to watch over the faith of ministers and people see the absurdity and futility of making an attempt to enforce uniformity of belief.

The absurdity of pretending any longer, under such circumstances, to have any definite belief at all is becoming so glaring that the more logical thinkers are openly calling for an abandonment of the pretence. In a recent issue of a magazine that till lately was a powerful religious publication we find these observations : "Nowadays that church is most fortunate which has no creed ; next, that church is fortunate which has crowded its creed against the cover and forgotten that it is there. Next come these churches which are slipping out of their bonds."<sup>1</sup> How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! For three hundred years Protestant divines, preachers, historians, writers of every kind never wearied of the theme that the strength, and the blessedness and the glory of Protestantism lay in the fact that it brought the soul into direct communion with God who spoke to it in the Sacred Scriptures. To show their appreciation of the Word of God, their accepted style of speaking of the Bible was such as might have been used, if the material volume were believed to have been a direct emanation from the Divine Substance. And concurrently, every European language was exhausted, for ten generations, to find terms that might, however inadequately,

<sup>1</sup> The Independent, March 8, 1900, p. 616.

depict the wickedness and depravity of the Scarlet Woman, who chained up the Bible, depressed its authority, and thrust herself between the thirsty soul and the living fountain of everlasting truth. Look on that picture and on this! To-day one-half of Protestantism openly declares that the Bible is a merely human and very fallible book. The others are attracting the scorn of every man who appreciates intellectual honesty, as he watches them resort to every kind of evasion and subterfuge to escape the necessity of making any declaration as to what they hold on the question of the authority of the Scriptures. Meantime, while the children of Luther and Calvin are seeking pretexts to disown the language of their fathers, the Roman Pontiff, on the same ground on which his predecessors stood, stands, solitary and not ashamed, the one uncompromising defender of the inspiration of Holy Scripture.

Occasionally we find a writer dwelling on this decline of dogmatic belief as an indication of the innate vitality of Protestantism. Mr. Lecky, for example, considers it a proof of the flexibility of Protestantism that it should have assimilated so well and victoriously with modern rationalism.<sup>1</sup> But when the logical basis of both systems of thought are examined we find them identical—the recognition of the supremacy of reason as the sole test of truth. The struggle has not been between Protestantism and Rationalism, but between the spirit of private judgment and the dogmatic element inside Protestantism; and progress towards harmony is made by the gradual absorption of the latter by the former. Then both are identified, and creeds have vanished, a condition which is fast becoming the universal one among the greater number of nominal Protestants to-day. Rationalism is triumphant; but ancient names are retained, while the religion which they once stood for has departed. There is now in process an imitation of that legal fiction by which when there is no heir to an estate and it is devised to an outsider on condition that he assume the family name, the extinct race is supposed to live on. Protestant historians are at a loss to account for the fact

<sup>1</sup> See History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe. Vol. I, chaps. II, III, *passim*.

that Protestantism has never gained an inch of ground from Catholicity beyond what it obtained in the original upheaval of the Reformation. Macaulay has drawn attention to this truth in some of his most classic pages. He has expressed his wonder that during the great changes of the eighteenth century no minds should have found a resting place between Catholicity and Infidelity, that "when a Catholic renounces his belief in the real presence, it was a thousand to one that he renounced his belief in the Gospel too; and when reaction took place, with the belief in the Gospel came back belief in the real presence." Mr. Lecky too bears witness to the fact: "whatever is lost of Catholicism is gained by Rationalism; wherever the spirit of Rationalism recedes the spirit of Catholicism advances."<sup>1</sup> We suspect that if Macaulay, who with all his prejudices was an honest historian, were alive to-day the mystery would be solved for him. In any case free-thinkers and Catholics alike have never found any mystery in the matter at all. For they have always seen that there is no logical half-way ground between Catholicity and infidelity. Protestantism, which pretended to be such a halting place, was but a temporary makeshift that could not endure. The philosophy of the phenomenon which perplexed Macaulay is condensed in the reply which an attaché of a foreign embassy in Washington once gave to a Protestant lady. When he told her that he had once been a Catholic but was so no longer, she enquired which of the Protestant churches he had joined. "Ah, Madame," he replied, "I have lost my faith, but I have not lost my reason."

Another question now presents itself, which can be but briefly touched upon at the close of this article. Having abandoned all Christian dogma, many say that provided they hold fast to Christian ethics, and practice the golden rule, they have retained all that is really valuable in Christianity, and may view with unconcern the passing of dogma. Nay, they assert the disappearance of creeds is a positive blessing, since it will bring men together, in a closer bond of brotherhood on the common ground of love to man and love to God. Flung open the churches to all of good will, and throw down the

<sup>1</sup>Op. cit. p. 186.



barriers of creeds, which have proved nothing but sources of strife and discord. But the question is: can we give up Christian belief and retain Christian morality?

When Christianity is deprived of all native authority, and is compelled to derive all its claims to respect from the approbation of our reason—and this is done when its Founder is held to be a mere man—how long will its moral code retain its prestige? Evidently just as long as its moral code will remain in harmony with the views prevalent in the dominant portion of society. At present it is recognized as the purest and worthiest. It has undoubtedly an immense influence. But if we would calculate the chances of that influence enduring we must bear in mind that it is a legacy of times when Christianity was looked upon as Divine, when its Founder was not estimated as merely a moral genius loftier than Socrates or Zeno, but as the very Messiah, sent of God to reveal a religion and a morality which unaided human reason never could have discovered. This was the conviction among Catholics and Protestants alike which established the authority of the Christian Ideal. When that faith is relegated to oblivion the Christian standard of morals will be kept as long only as it is in harmony with the popular view. Receiving allegiance not because it addresses itself with any authority from on high to the human mind, but because reason approves it, then when other views prevail, the Christian standard will be relegated, silently perhaps, but surely to the realm of obsolete system which the world has outgrown. The principle of individual judgment bears in precisely the same way on the contents of the practical, or moral sphere as it does on the intellectual; its outcome will be the same, gradual disintegration and destruction. Indeed we see it operating in the same disastrous manner, under our eyes, in the field of Christian ethics. The teaching of Christ as to the nature and obligations imposed upon man in the most sacred of the relations which exist between him and another is deliberately ignored. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the interpretation of the text in the nineteenth chapter of St. Matthew, it will scarcely be denied that the laws of the United States concerning divorce and the widespread tendency to make the marriage contract more and more unstable

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is in direct conflict with the teachings of Jesus. Thus in one of its most vital and characteristic features the Christian ideal is already marred, yet there is no cessation of the everlasting flow of cant about following the Master, and leading the Christ life. The voices which are loudest in this strain bear a strong family resemblance to the ancient voices that chanted the praises of Divine inspiration. It is to be feared that if the work of ethical disintegration proceeds at the present rate of activity, considerably less than three hundred years will be needed to leave the Catholic Church the sole champion of the ethics, as she is now left of the inspiration of the Gospel.

There is another entirely gratuitous assumption in the theory that a permanent efficient religion can be constructed by taking natural theism as a basis and rounding it out with Christian ethics. When inspiration and revelation are discredited the only justification of theism lies with philosophy. What hopes are there of any permanent agreement of philosophers as to the existence of God and the nature of man's relation to Him? The answer to this question is given by the history of philosophic speculation from the earliest records of Greek and Indian speculation down to the latest accounts of the transactions of contemporary philosophical circles, and the freshest works from eminent living thinkers. Discord and antagonism, which prevailed in the days of Plato and Epicurus, prevails just as widely in the generation which reads Herbert Spencer and Professor Royce. The followers of Schopenhauer and the followers of Kant are as much opposed to one another, as were the disciples of Plato and the disciples of Epicurus. Even the most finished mental product of exhausted nature and scientific training, the Agnostic, seems to be not quite sure of his own mind. Mr. Spencer tells us that while we are driven to postulate a First Cause, we are forbidden by our reason even to attempt to know anything further about it, or to think that we can comprehend anything about the relation in which we stand to it; and he contrived to evolve a whole system of morality without ever alluding to the existence of a First Cause. Yet Mr. Fiske, who swears in the words of the Master, tells us with no slight touch of intellectual Pharisaism that the peculiar birthright of a mind di-

ciplined in the evolution theory is to recognize that the First Cause is the "eternal source of a Moral Law which is implicated with each action of our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guaranty of the happiness which is incorruptible."

Nobody cherishes the hope of a millennium that shall see a fundamental agreement among philosophers in their answer to the everlasting Whence? Whither? Why? How? And even if they were to reach an agreement to-morrow, they would still lack the authoritativeness necessary to make these conclusions valid for any portion of mankind. Still more would they be incapable of making their system a general rule of life and a religion. Every religion, from the lowest to the highest, received the allegiance and inspired the devotion of its followers because it was believed, rightly or wrongly, to be of divine origin. The speculations and conclusions of a philosopher may commend themselves to the intellect; but they go a very short way towards influencing the heart. The human soul is so formed that it takes a religion seriously only when it believes that religion to have a divine command, not a metaphysical or logical puzzle behind it.

"Reconstruction" is indeed a pressing necessity. But whence is it to come? Mr. Hyde's is not satisfactory, yet it is just as good as any other that can be made out of the materials provided; for all are equally worthless. Is the saviour of religion to come out of the body which hesitates to condemn Dr. McGiffert? or out of that other which did not hesitate to receive Dr. Briggs? or shall we find it in that trinity of Western bishops so sublimely devoid of the sense of humor that they lately presented the world with an Encyclical

There is but one principle possessing the power of endurance and reconstruction. That is the principle of authority. The present condition of intellectual and religious unrest, arising from a decay of beliefs, and a drifting away from ancient moorings accompanied with a yearning after high ideals, and an eclecticism, which seeks to satisfy the soul by making experiment of every new panacea that is offered, resembles the state of minds in the Roman world before the advent of Christianity. The reconstruction of society and morality began then, not from the Porch or the Academy, but through a fisher-

man of Galilee and a tent-maker from Tarsus, who preached a Saviour who had risen from the tomb. The same power is in the world to-day, the Catholic Church.

Of course there are in abundance prophecies and demonstrations that her efficiency is gone, and her disappearance certain. But the impossibility of her continuance has been demonstrated so many times in her past history that even her opponents are losing faith in such prophecies. Her impending collapse has been announced almost every day for four or five hundred years past. To be sure, each new prophet bases his prediction upon new grounds. The favorite proofs just now are the decay of the Latin races, and the progress of modern science.

Her existence, however, is no more bound up with the prosperity of the Latin races than it was with the stability of the Roman empire. A living organism, not a dead book, or a set of formulae, she continues to adapt herself to a shifting environment. She feels that she can wait with calm the outcome of modern scientific research ; and she notes that a great deal of what yesterday was hailed as scientific fact is to-day discarded as an exploded hypothesis. Whatever proves sound and indisputable in the results of sciences, she knows she will be able to assimilate ; meanwhile a divine instinct will guide her to reject the erroneous and deadly. She will develop her original deposit of faith just in proportion as prevailing errors in speculation or morals demand. To all without and to some, perhaps, within she may appear belated and behind the age. But she seems provokingly conscious that her life and progress must be measured by a standard vaster by far than three-score and ten. Many competitors before have boasted of having outstripped her in the march for human enlightenment. But sooner or later she reaches a point in the journey where they have fallen by the wayside. The historian then records after the date of their birth the date of their disappearance. No man who reads the signs of the times can doubt that she is comparatively near the period when she shall see Protestantism go the way along which she has seen go by so many other forms of belief, whose names now reach our ear as but hollow echoes out of the long-vanished past.

JAMES J. FOX.

## THE RESTRICTION OF MARRIAGE.

In his latest work,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lecky, treating the subject of marriage, points out two considerations which he tells us "in the ethics of the future are likely to have a wholly different place from any that they occupy at present." The first of these is the clear recognition of the duty incumbent on parents to secure for their children not only good education, but the "conditions of a healthy being." The second, akin to the foregoing, is the conviction "that it is a moral offense to bring children into the world with no prospect of being able to support them." Much of the distress and degradation which humanity has known is traceable, says Mr. Lecky, to the neglect by parents of these two obligations.

Before entering upon the discussion of marriage restrictions, to which the considerations mentioned by Mr. Lecky would lead, we will premise that the well-known stricture passed upon a certain unduly ambitious book are applicable, with some slight qualifications, to the ideas, represented by the author of the "Map of Life," as about to fill a new place in the ethics of the future. Like the contents of that book these "considerations," which we are to understand as freighted with so much of good for the future, are both new and true, but what is new in them is not true and what is true is hardly new.

It certainly is true that parents should provide the conditions of a healthy being for their offspring. This is a prescription of the natural law—easily and often overdrawn it must be said—but one that may not be disregarded. Yet we venture to assert that its appreciation is going to occupy in the future no different place in ethics than it has held in the past. Persons about to marry to-day, if not blinded by unbefitting passion, are deeply concerned with the physical condition of those whom they would choose for their life-partners, and we have no reason to infer that this thought enters as a new

<sup>1</sup>The Map of Life, 1899, p. 306.

element in the calculations that are now made preparatory to assuming the responsibilities of matrimony. Of course there have been from time to time various ways suggested to secure the qualities of this well-being, both in the parents and in the offspring, but it is in the means, rather than in the end they sought to accomplish, that change can be observed.

The importance to the candidates for marriage of health and vigor of body was realized, we dare say, from the beginning. The ancient lawgiver Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup> so Plutarch tells us, was so desirous of securing physical excellence in those who were to be the parents of future citizens, that he devised measures looking to the attainment of this good, which in their communistic character are of a piece with most of his other legislation. Sir Thomas More<sup>2</sup> describes a practice that existed among the inhabitants of his Utopia by which they hoped to preclude the disappointment and chagrin that must arise upon the discovery in one's marital partner, only when it is too late, of unsuspected physical defects. So too, Francis Bacon<sup>3</sup> as well as Thomas Campanella,<sup>4</sup> did not fail to picture in the "New Atlantis" and "The City of the Sun" those requisites of strength and soundness which the youth of both sexes who were to take up the responsibility of marriage should possess in an ideal commonwealth.

Leaving the inviting realms of the Utopias, we find in the real and living society about us the same deep appreciation of the necessity for parents of possessing those qualifications which will best promise to their offspring the blessing of a perfect physical constitution. This appreciation has lately given rise to a general tendency towards legislation of a restrictive character. Indeed, we find that, in the case of a few of our States, laws have been recently framed whose object is to limit marriage to those who are styled the more fit and competent.

Thus in looking over the enactments made by our several commonwealths in the last few years, we see that Connecticut,

<sup>1</sup>The Life of Lycurgus, by Plutarch. In "Morley's Ideal Commonwealth." London, 1896. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup>Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>3</sup>Francis Bacon, "New Atlantis." op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Campanella, "The City of the Sun." op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>5</sup>Legislation by States in "State Library Bulletin," issued by the University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y. 1895-1899.



in 1895, passed through its legislature an act by which, "No man or woman, either of whom is epileptic, imbecile or feeble-minded, shall marry or have sexual intercourse when the woman is under forty-five." The legislature of Michigan, last year, provided "that no person who has been afflicted with syphilis or gonorrhœa and has not been cured of the same, shall be capable of contracting marriage." While in the same year "a measure making the passing of a medical examination a prerequisite to obtaining a marriage license passed the North Dakota senate, but failed of enactment." These late provisions of some of our States present a note of relative conservatism, and would debar from marriage only such extreme cases of the unfit that there can hardly arise any objection to them either on the grounds of morality or expediency. We know, however, that there is in many quarters a spirit and tendency more radical on this subject of marriage restriction than finds expression in these laws. This spirit or tendency is entertained and fostered by many members of the medical profession as well as by well-meaning and zealous philanthropists; this it is that would constitute a departure from the ethics of the past and not the simple commendable "consideration" to which Mr. Lecky refers.

So too of that other "new" ethical appreciation—the conviction "that it is a moral offense to bring children into the world with no prospect of being able to support them." We do not hesitate to say that there never was a time when it was generally thought by civilized parents to be no offense to bring children into the world without any prospect of being able to support them. This "consideration" occupies to-day the same place in ethics that it has in the past and shall have in the future. What we must notice, however, is an unhealthy and exaggerated prudence regarding the marital condition entertained too generally by the young of marriageable age. This disquieting concern is not, we regret to say, so much about the sacred obligations incumbent on husband and wife as about the means by which many of these obligations may be shirked or avoided. Hence the "mariage de convenance," in which the most vital and holy of contracts is degraded to the level of the compacts and bargains of the market-place, while the prompt-

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ings of pure, ennobling sentiment are stifled as the vain and misleading suggestions of an idle dream. Hence also the failure of a large number of young men and women to marry or to enter upon the married state until late in life—a failure and delay that have caused the depopulation of certain classes in parts of our country and that threaten other consequences which the observant student of society has not been slow to detect and lament. As early as the sixteenth century we hear a theologian<sup>1</sup> censuring in no unmistakable terms those marriages of his time that were contracted solely through social and financial interests, and so apposite is the rebuke to present conditions that it would seem to have been uttered for our own days.

It were well if this prudence of which we speak were exercised only before marriage; but he is dull indeed who is not aware of the immoral and deadly extent to which this foresight and calculation have led those joined together primarily for the propagation of the race to interfere not only with the general laws of nature but with those of their own being. We know on authority that cannot well be doubted that the sin for which Onan of old brought down the wrath and detestation of God is widely practised and even palliated through this fancied regard for the future condition of the family. And in our own country, there has come to be what is significantly known as the "American sin,"<sup>2</sup> and which, if we are to believe those whom indeed we must heed in these matters, threatens to reproduce in large portions of our society the condition described by the poet Juvenal, when referring to licentious Rome, he wrote:

"Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera licito,  
Tantum artes hujus tantum medicamina possunt,  
Quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos  
Conducit."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hominum saepe vitium est quod depravata indole pueri nascuntur; nullo conjugum delectu connubio jungimus quibus praeter formam nihil praecipuum est, aut quos una sensus et pecuniae magnitudo commendat.* Joannis Marianae—*De Rege et Regis institutione*, p. 134. Lib. II, cap. I, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to 1840, the testimony of American physicians is that criminal abortion was not practised very generally, and to but a slight extent by married women; but this condition has since changed. James Foster Scott, M. D., *The Sexual Instinct*, 1889, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Satire VI*, 591-596.

Though the restriction of marriage by an enlarged legislative control is urged by some for the reasons of "political economy," to which Malthus first directed attention, it is more especially from certain philanthropists and physicians who see in the marriage of a class they style "degenerates" an unobstructed channel for the transmission of mental, physical and moral ills<sup>1</sup> that the promulgation of such laws finds its greatest encouragement and incentive. It is not necessary that the ills which would debar from marriage should be those only which are the result of immorality. All organic disease that may be passed by heredity to offspring should, according to these reformers, be held as insurmountable impediments to marriage.

To reach the correct solution of this question it is necessary that we go back to the consideration of man's first and inprescriptible rights. Emerson has said that we hear too much to-day of rights and not enough of obligations. In the general treatment of the subject we are studying, the reverse would seem to be the case. For, in their zeal to assert the rights of the offspring, many of our social writers and reformers forget, or, at least, do not sufficiently heed, the indisputable rights of the parent. We are not unmindful, as we shall show farther on, that these latter are modified and limited by the former; but rights they are, nevertheless, and proper order, as well as safe logic, demand that from the recognition of them, as from a firmly established and clearly defined premise, we start in discussing this topic of the restriction of marriage.

The declaration of man's inalienable "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," has come, by dint of repetition, often ill-used or meaningless, to take on the character of a commonplace, and, like all commonplaces, to lose the import and suggestiveness it should in its momentous significance convey. Thus the right to life, which is affirmed to be the first inheritance of every son of man, has a wider sense than at once appears, or is commonly realized. To mean anything at all it must suppose and postulate other rights as its necessary and immediate condition; for it would readily be seen to be "such stuff as dreams are made of,"

<sup>1</sup> See Kate Gannett Wells, in *Charities Review*, Vol. VII, p. 704.

did it not imply and entail the right to health, to our body and our physical members. Blackstone declares this in his commentaries on the laws of England, when he says that the first of the absolute rights of every Englishman "is the legal and uninterrupted enjoyment of his limbs, his body, his health and his reputation."<sup>1</sup> Now one who can lay claim to this legal enjoyment of his body cannot but possess the right to all the nourishment and aliment which must sustain and preserve his physical being and furnish him with all the equipment necessary to his corporeal existence. Nor does such a right stop here. The growth and preservation of the individual life finds its natural sequence in the increase and multiplication of the species, reproduction being the complement, and, in a sense easily understood, the perfection of nutrition. For the commerce of the male and female, by which they conserve and propagate their kind, is but the exuberance, as it were, of the same power that brings them singly to the full stature of their individual growth.

The right to beget his kind is intimately and inseparably bound up therefore with the first of those birthrights with which "every man that cometh into this world is endowed." Nor must it be supposed that the right to generate offspring flows to man from this sovereign prerogative but mediately, and through the right only which he has to his body and its members. This would be narrowing it too much. The life is more than the body, and it is from the former of these rather than from the latter that the right which we are describing must be said to immediately spring and to be developed. This is readily seen when we realize the exalted character of that union between man and woman which renders lawful the act of generation. Such wedlock is not as the pairing of the brute creation. Christian doctrine elevates it far above the sensual character of such an intimacy. It teaches that marriage is oneness of heart before it is oneness of flesh; that it is the blending together in harmony of souls that find in such association the full complement of the thought and feeling, of the inspiration and sentiment, which otherwise were held fast in yearning incompleteness or dwarfed in unsympa-

<sup>1</sup>Blackstone's Commentaries. Ninth Edition. Chap. 1, p. 129.

thetic loneliness. The old saying that husband and wife are to each other as halves of a whole is perfectly true. In a profound sense man is the perfection of woman as woman is of man. Shakespere expresses this beautifully when, describing the proposed union of Lady Blanche with Lewis the Dauphin in "King John," he says :

"He is the half part of a blessed man,  
Left to be finished by such as she.  
And she a fair divided excellence  
Whose fitness of perfection lies in him."

To seek, then, the lasting and congenial company of one who will be the "fountain of life," not only to wearied mind and arid heart, but literally of beings who are to continue, as it were, and extend and enlarge the existence of their parents is to desire that to which there is for every man and woman a title clear and unblemished. St. Thomas Aquinas forcibly points out this right when he says : "Man is not held to obey man, but owes only to God obedience in those things which refer immediately to the body, for the reason that all are by nature equal in matters which relate to bodily sustenance and the generation of offspring. Whence it flows that servants are not under the command of their masters nor children under that of their parents when it is question of contracting marriage, of embracing a life of virginity, or of any act having a like character."<sup>1</sup>

From the fact of this intimate connection between the right to propagate the species and that to life itself it follows that any legislation looking to or endeavoring by positive checks to pre-

<sup>1</sup> "Secundum ea quae ad naturam corporis pertinent homo homini obedire non tenetur sed solum Deo, quia omnes homines natura sunt pares, puta in his quae pertinent ad corporis sustentationem et prolis generationem. Unde non tenentur nec servi dominis nec filii parentibus obedire de matrimonio contrahendo vel virginitate servanda aut aliquo alio huiusmodi." S. Thos. 2-2, quest. 104, art. 5.

The vow of celibacy which the priests and religious of the Catholic Church take in entering upon their state of life must, as is evident from the foregoing, be absolutely free and voluntary. Cf. Ligouri Theol. Mor. De ordine, vol. VI, cap. II, qu. 808. Moreover, to relinquish an unquestionable right and accept the sacrifice which is entailed in the denial and subjection of the natural appetites of animal nature requires, Catholic doctrine teaches, a special vocation to which particular and necessary graces are attached. It will not be amiss to quote here the Council of Trent which says, Sess. XXV. c. 18 : "Qui coegerint aliquam virginem vel viduam aut aliquamquam cumque mulierem invitam ad ingrediendum monasterium vel ad suscipiendum habitum cujuscumque religionis vel ad emittendam professionem, anathema sit."

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vent the natural intercourse of the sexes is not only vicious but futile. The State, it is true, may pass measures for the restriction of marriage to those whom it may judge to be more fit and competent physically and morally, by exacting conditions which would serve as a barrier and deterrent to those about to marry. Yet while it can undoubtedly lessen the number of legitimate weddings and cause a diminution in the number of legitimate births, it cannot prevent the gratification of that appetite which can be righteously indulged only within the bonds of lawful matrimony. As well might the civil authority hope by legal enactment to cut off or reduce the measure of man's physical nutriment, since only when it can eradicate that passion which next to the instinct of self-preservation is the strongest felt by the human race, may it hope to make this kind of legislation effective and salutary.

St. Augustine accuses the Manicheans of forbidding marriage while allowing sexual intercourse and of according to wanton sinners what was denied to chaste and blameless wives.<sup>1</sup> Though undoubtedly it would sternly repudiate any such impious distinction, the law that would hedge marriage about with the radical restrictions advocated by some of our social reformers, would nevertheless be found not only powerless to check immoral practices, but in many cases would be a positive provocation of evils more to be dreaded than the social maladies it sought to prevent. Realizing these consequences there are not wanting a number, especially of the medical profession, who openly advocate the physical mutilation that would render impossible the generative function. Thus a physician of standing<sup>2</sup> not long since expressed a sentiment by no means isolated or extraordinary when in addressing a medical association he said: "While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give to us, I will refer to a conviction that I have, that life-long salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed." . . . "Whose State," he then asks, "shall be the first to legalize oöphorectomy and orchotomy for the relief and cure of radical depravity?"

<sup>1</sup> *Adversus Faustum Manichaeum*, cap. VI, lib. XXX, et *adversus Secundinum Manichaeum*, cap. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kerlin in addressing Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded quoted in "*American Charities*" by Amos G. Warner, p. 138.



We hope that the well-intending physician may long continue to look in vain for such initiative on the part of any State, and fortunately at present such surgical operations, especially that of orchotomy when performed for the end desired, is so abhorrent to the Christian sense, so repellent not only to our ordinary sentiments of delicacy, but of justice and right that any general legislative action of this kind may be regarded as altogether far distant and unlikely. Such physical deformation of the male sex can find place only in the refined ferocity of Oriental barbarity; it can never be countenanced by the morality of a Christian civilization. Oöphorectomy, or ovariectomy as it is generally called, is in its external effects and consequences less repulsive than the operation just referred to, and is far more frequently practised. Yet when resorted to, for the sole purpose of bringing about sterility, it is unquestionably baneful and immoral. It would perhaps be rash to attempt to define all the physical consequences of such an act, yet testimony is not wanting to show that its results are damaging and pernicious, redounding eminently to the detriment of the life, health and beauty of those who would thus trespass upon the exclusive and awful rights of the "Dominus vitae."<sup>1</sup>

It were unreasonable to think that Nature, in her wondrous economy, had not placed in the very state of life itself to which she so powerfully impels her children, effective remedies for many evils that if left unchecked would thwart her end and purpose. For just as the impulse to propagate its kind is inherent in every living being and forms one of the chief springs and motives of that ceaseless stress and untiring activity which we witness in the living organic world, so the legitimate gratification of this masterful passion must not infrequently be, in the design of Providence, the healthful sedative, the assuaging balm, to much of troubled unrest or riotous excess. Hence it is that, as physicians tell us, not a few persons who, in the unmarried state, experience physical disorders find in marriage a remedy and cure beyond the reach

<sup>1</sup> The evil effects here referred to are strikingly illustrated in the case of three characters pictured in the well-known novel "*Fécondité*." Although this work is in many of its parts characterized by that which has given its author his deservedly evil repute, we cannot but think, with some ecclesiastical writers, that it points a good and important moral.

of drug or physic to afford. The nervous affections which rack the body and agitate the mind are often but the warnings and protests intended by a kind but exacting Nature against a state and condition that should be exchanged for the life and duties of wedlock. Especially is this true of that sex to which Nature looks for the mothers of the race. Henry Drummond has described the mother as being "the last and most elaborately wrought pinnacle of the temple of Nature."<sup>1</sup> And this is profoundly true. No less true is the following which we extract from the same author: "Is it too much to say that the one motive of organic Nature was to make mothers? It is at least certain that this was the chief thing she did. Ask the zoologist what, judging from science alone, Nature aspired to from the first; he could but answer *Mammalia*—mothers. In as real a sense as a factory is meant to turn out locomotives or clocks, the machinery of nature is designed in the last resort to turn out mothers. You will find mothers in lower nature, in every stage of imperfection. . . . And when you get to the top you find that the last great act was but to present to the world a physiologically perfect type. It is a fact which no human mother can regard without awe, which no man can realize without a due reverence for women and a new belief in the higher meaning of Nature, that the goal of the whole plant and animal kingdoms seems to have been the creation of a family which the very naturalist has had to call *Mammalia*."<sup>2</sup>

To that which she presents as the goal and to which she would direct every member of her living kingdoms, Nature must, as we have already said, give the property of satisfying and perfecting which every end of righteous bent and effort must promise and possess. And so in the labors of maternity no less than in its joys and consolations, woman realizes not only her being's "aims and powers," but the unfailing curative for many of the ills and sufferings to which otherwise she were heir. The curse pronounced upon the banished Eve still remains, it is true; yet along with it comes ever the blessing bequeathed earlier in the morning of crea-

<sup>1</sup> Henry Drummond, "The Ascent of Man," p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

tion with the command to increase and multiply and which has never been withdrawn. Nor is this blessing to be confined to one sex only. It is shared equally by both. And the sympathetic, abiding companionship found in the bond of marriage, the rightful indulgence of primordial appetites that spring from his animal nature, bring to man a prop and stay not only of intellectual and moral but of physical and material worth. That there is a large leaven of grace even in those unions which fall far short of that blessed state to which our Lord would liken his ineffable oneness with the Church, it would be difficult to deny. The respect and reverence which even the profligate would feel for her whom he would make his wife testify to the regard which the marital relation does not altogether cease to find in the heart of the depraved, and at the same time offer the most propitious soil for the seed which is to bring forth good fruit. Says a quaint anonymous writer quite truly: "There seems to be a spiritual as well as a natural blessing in marriage; for though the nature of man is so depraved, that in all his choice of things in this world, he makes virtue the least ingredient; so that in honors, riches, power, friends, and all the rest of the world's inventory, virtue makes not always a figure; yet in the choice of a wife, 'tis the prime motive. Is she fair, rich, witty, and not virtuous? Neither the wise nor the rich man will make her his choice. So then, however, though he may not be a possessor of those graces himself, which act the good man, yet having them in a wife, they may, by her example and persuasion, restrain that tendency which ill conversation often infects men with, and by this way a believing, that is, a virtuous wife may (as the Apostle expreseth it in that of children) sanctify or at least civilize an husband."<sup>1</sup>

Of course the succour or relief that matrimony holds out to certain disorders is not precisely of the kind that is reducible to a chemical formula or to the hard-and-fast lines of a mathematical definition, but it is, nevertheless, true and efficient. Very often psychical, rather than physical, it is at such times discoverable to the intuitions and perceptions of the former science, while hidden to the searches and analysis of the latter.

<sup>1</sup>Marriage Promoted in a discourse of its Ancient and Modern Practice, by a Person of Quality. London, 1690.

Here too, we must not overlook another element of the marriage state that makes for the bettering and uplifting of hearts that were well-nigh proof against the inspiration and lessons of other exalting influences. It is the coming and presence of the child. "A little child will lead them," says the Prophet Isaias, when describing the wondrous power that was to be known and felt in the spiritual kingdom about to arise and to which the peoples of the earth were to repair. We recognize to whom the sacred writer directly refers. Yet cannot the word take on a more universal application and, besides the infant Saviour, with little hand upraised to bless and save the world, fittingly picture also the sway of many a helpless babe over numerous subjects that were recreant to other sceptres and laws. May it not show forth the might of infant hands on hardened hearts and callous souls. For certain it is, that such seductive and alluring power exists, and men hardened in sin, have owned its influence. It has been said that the child is the "tutor for the affections." If this be true—and who is ready to dispute it?—the child must necessarily be tutor for much more, for the affections are the open avenues to all the qualities and faculties of the soul. It must be tutor for unselfishness, for thrift, for industry, for temperance; for if love be queen, these are but her maids in waiting. We read, that on a certain occasion when His disciples pressed upon our Lord to settle the bickerings and disputes arising from their ambitions and jealousies, "Jesus calling unto Him a little child, set him in the midst of them." Thence they were to receive the answer to their contentions, appeals, the silent rebuke to their unseemly strifes. The lesson was not unheeded. So too, "the little child in the midst of them" is still to numbers the gentle, transforming agent for good, the sweet yet effective censor of wrong.

If Nature has in her plenteous store strong defense against the mischief that sin and error would work to the marriage state, she likewise possesses in no small measure positive checks to that formal calculation and design that would think itself all sufficient in the regulation and control of the conditions for marriage. This is aptly illustrated in the irrepressible play and influence of what is generally known as elective affinity. Various and often curious as these affinities between

man and woman are, they are none the less potent and universal. Sir Walter Scott has said, "that it would not perhaps be too much to aver that two-thirds of the marriages around us have been contracted betwixt persons who, judging *a priori*, we should have thought had scarce any charms for each other." The novelist, it is quite evident, refers to those contrasts in which love is said to delight, and which not infrequently are of such a character as to surprise even the observant who by experience have learned to look for the strange and irregular in matters of the heart. This predilection for opposites, though it seems at times but the lightest and idlest of vagaries, must have a clear purpose in the schemes of Nature which cannot be ignored. It would seem to spring from no other source than the purpose of a higher and directing power to provide in marriage the completeness of life and being that comes only when both the parties to this momentous contract find the adjunct that supplies their individual shortcomings and fills up the measure of their insufficiency. It would of course be too much to contend that such far-reaching and philosophic considerations enter clearly defined into every love affair. Safer it would be to say that no such considerations enter into them at all, for

"Love is blind and lovers cannot see  
The pretty follies that themselves commit."

Yet the workings of a provident nature are there, and like the deep undertow of ocean, operate unseen, and often disregarded by the thoughtless who heed only the shallow surface-currents that strike the eyes, but which are moved and governed by the silent flow of plan beneath. Hence it is that marriages between parties of the same stamp of mind and turn of character are not as healthful or happy as unions formed between dissimilar or opposite natures. Maudsley gives a case which came under his own charge and was illustrative of this in a striking manner. It was that of a couple who were extremely "energetic and by their joint exertions had built up from the humblest beginnings a large and lucrative business in London. The woman was of an anxious, inconstant, irritable temperament, always actively employed and eager in business.

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She died at a good age. The man was sanguine, choleric, and active and died two years after from apoplexy." "Four grown-up members of the family are already insane," says the alienist, "and more will be so."<sup>1</sup> This was, no doubt, a "mariage de convenance," characterized by all the forethought and regard for the future betterment of possible offspring which the most exacting of reformers in these matters would demand. And while the outcome was in the case we have cited particularly unfortunate, it but exaggerates the general quality of the fruit springing from marriages occurring every day around us and which have been brought about by none of that pure love and transporting sentiment which makes "all the world love a lover," but by the cold calculation of a business transaction.

According to Prosper Lucas<sup>2</sup> love unions are more prolific than those that have been formed from motives of social or financial profit. And so clearly does Nature seem to demand this liberty and spontaneity of choice in the selection of a life partner that the families born of matches contracted solely from motives of material profit are almost inevitably doomed to an early decay and death.

No one can deny that of all the contracts in the world few are more carefully studied, or entered upon with graver considerations of future contingencies than the alliances of noble and aristocratic families. Here the prospects and future position of the child that is expected are scrupulously regarded, the portion that each of the contracting parties will bring to the union and the advantages that will accrue to both are attentively computed. But it is all "a reckoning without the host." And the host must be reckoned with. "The degeneration of the race in noble families," says Moreau of Tours, "has been noted by sundry writers. Pope remarked that the noble air which the English aristocracy ought to have worn was the one thing they did not at all possess; that it was a saying in Spain that when a grandee was announced in a drawing room, you must expect to see a sort of abortion; finally in France anyone who saw the men who constituted

<sup>1</sup> Maudsley, *Pathology of Mind*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas' *Traité Philosophique et Physiologique de l'Hérédité Naturelle*, quoted in J. F. Nisbet's *Marriage and Heredity*, p. 175.

the higher ranks might suppose that he was in presence of a company of invalids. The Marquis de Mirabeau himself in his *Ami des Hommes* speaks of them as "pygmies or withered and starved plants."<sup>1</sup> And this testimony is not to be exclusively referred to conditions that have passed away. The state of European aristocracy to-day presents hardly a more inviting picture. If we can believe an English periodical published in 1889, there were at that time "more than twenty princes and princesses of the royal family of Europe under medical care for brain affection," and "the number according to the same authority displayed a perilous tendency to increase."<sup>2</sup> In their passion for exclusiveness these families have forgotten or left unheeded what they knew or could have easily learned from the skilled breeders of dogs and horses, and which all the provision that their wit could devise, or wealth and position command, was powerless to counteract. True, they have sought from time to time, to replenish and fertilize the depleted and impoverished soil of their stock by a union with an "American heiress"; but either because the latter was herself a victim of the same degeneration, or was insufficient to supply the needed vitality, the marriage has been as a rule unattended with beneficent or happy results.

It would be unjust to describe the "mariage de convenance" as something peculiar to foreign lands and peoples. It can, as we have said, be witnessed all about us with none of the circumstances missing that elicit our contempt for it abroad or that ever work to produce serious and far-reaching harm. We are not rash in saying that the disgust which the novelist never fails to excite in us for the character that he represents as seeking an alliance of this kind, or the disfavor and opposition which the playwright can always arouse for the mercenary father who would force his daughter to such a marriage, are but clear expressions of Nature's own attitude towards these matches.

There is another device of nature to which we must refer, when on this subject of heredity and its effects. It is what is called atavism or throwing back, and consists in the reversal to types and features existing anterior to the parent in the ances-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Th. Ribot's *Heredity*, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> *The Economist*, Feb. 9, 1889. In article on "The Death of the Crown-Prince of Austria."

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tral line. It has been said that the education of a child should commence "twenty years before it is born." And this is not putting back the date too far. For if as breeders tell us it takes generations to establish thoroughbred qualities or "points" in a dog or horse, we can very safely conclude that no small measure of time is sufficient for the training and ripe culture that go to make up "Nature's noblemen." The parent, then, while the most important factor in determining the character and disposition of the child, is far from being the only one, and just as the father or mother may be blameless for the evil propensities that fill the soul of their offspring, so too, their vicious habits and weakened structures often fail to check or poison the transmission of purity, and strength, to their children. And, indeed, it is well for humanity that there is this power of the "latent germ" ever asserting itself through the long lines of direct and collateral relationships; for while it must be admitted that, as it works for good it can also operate for evil, still its effect must in the long run be toward the former rather than in favor of the latter. Were it not so, and were heredity from parent to child the regular undeviating machine that some philosophers and psychologists declare it to be, the race would long since, as Lefebvre<sup>1</sup> well points out, have been submerged beneath the deluge of its accumulated malignities.

We have insisted thus far upon the rights of the parents and of the means afforded by nature to supply their defects and unfitness, because we have thought that inmost of the discussions on this subject these are elements too frequently forgotten or slighted. We are far from maintaining, however, that the phase of the argument we have thus far presented, fully meets the position of those who would advocate a more complete legislative control of marriage conditions. The answer to their contention lies deeper, and rests upon the proper appreciation of the nature and relations of natural and positive law. To a brief consideration of these, then, we must turn.

Anterior to all civil enactments is the natural law, so called, because it has been implanted in nature by the Creator of all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques, 1891. Section—Des Sciences, Naturelles. L'Hérédité par Dr. Lefebvre, de Louvain.

and by nature itself proclaimed and taught. This law, as it transcends all human norms in order and dignity, is that from which these latter must be derived and from which they must receive their ultimate sanction.<sup>1</sup> It should, therefore, independent of all legislation of positive law, cover the whole round and compass of man's duties. Dependent on this great canon is, as we have said, the civil law by which society and its members are immediately directed in the way to temporal good and happiness, and mediate to their last and final end. This good which the civil law would promote and direct is, as will be readily seen, broad and ample, embracing not only the weal of the intellect and will, but of the body and all goods of life. From this, however, it must not be concluded that it is the end and purpose of the civil authority to bring about perfection, even of a rather low order, in all of its subjects. Utopia is not only an undiscovered country, but unless human nature takes on radical changes, is undiscoverable. And hence, while it most certainly would redound to the permanence and well-being of the State to be able to count upon subjects gifted with high intelligence and ripe education and at the same time endowed with that physical prowess that Sparta of old would seek in her sons and daughters, it does not follow that the civil power should assume the role of pedagogue or physician and demand or prescribe the means necessary for the attainment of these qualities in the individuals over which it exercises control.

The same must be affirmed of the action of this authority in the broad field of morals. It goes without saying that the social fabric rests upon the virtue and integrity of its citizens as upon its sure and indispensable foundation. "Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it," says the Psalmist, and while there will be citizens who will stoutly deny the agency and influence of the Lord in affairs of this nature, there will be found none who will dare gainsay the saving power and efficacy of those virtues for the grace of which the Christian ever turns unto his God. So the State should see to it that morality is known and practiced among

<sup>1</sup>S. Thomas, 1-2 qq. 95, Art. 2, "Omnis lex humanitus posita in tantum habet de ratione legis in quantum a lege naturae derivatur; si vero in aliquo a lege naturali discordet jam non erit lex sed legis corruptio."

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its members. And for the better compassing of this end it has the indisputable right to check wickedness and to mete out condign punishment to the criminal and the outlaw.

Unquestionable, however, though the right of the State is in the field of ethics as in that of education and physical culture, there are bounds and limits to this authority beyond which it may not go, even though it would but promulgate and enforce the edicts of the natural law. If it pass beyond these lines, which it must be admitted are sometimes very difficult to define, and seek to become co-extensive with the greater and antecedent law, it but operates to its own detriment, if it does not indeed end in its own undoing and stultification. The "dead letter" enactments which occur only too frequently in our constitutions and books of statutes bear testimony to this only less strikingly than do the disregard and contempt for law to which such legal nullities must give rise.

We come to understand, therefore, that the sphere of the civil law and authority is not to aim by immediate effort to bring about the realization of all the good to which its citizens would individually aspire, but rather to move and assist them to these and to all legitimate ends and worthy aims by exciting to healthful activity, by forming and encouraging associations of mutual help and endeavor, by extending an arm of protection to the infirm, by coercing and punishing the derelict, and finally by preserving external peace and order.

Now it needs no proof to show that with marriage, both as an act and as a condition, the interests of the State are intimately and lastingly bound up. We assume it to be no less clear that there are certain conditions which the civil power may prescribe, certain forms and regulations it may enjoin upon those about to unite themselves in marriage, which are imperatively called for by the proper ordering and constitution of society. Yet we cannot fail to see that the exercise of this power by the State must remain within defined limits if it is not to confront and clash with that other right which we have already described as belonging to every man and entitling him to marry and to propagate his kind. This latter, as a heritage bequeathed by no other testator than nature itself, is possessed independently of any let or hindrance that may be



given or exercised by the enactments and decrees of positive laws. It was just here that Plato and the ancient law-givers fell into error by their subjection of marriage and the family to the uncontrolled sway of the State, by making of them instruments of civil function to serve political ends and interests.

But now does the great canon, whence comes to man the primary right of which we speak, ordain aught as to its use and exercise? We do not hesitate to say that the natural law would declare that to assume the grave responsibilities of the marital state without the capacity or means of affording to offspring the "conditions for a healthy being," or the provisions for family necessities is wrong and immoral—reprehended by the very order of things set and constituted by the Creator Himself. It may be argued, however, that to require such foresight and preparation in the candidates for marriage, would express a want of necessary faith in a benign and superintending Providence. But such an assertion is very apt to be only a presumptuous covering for culpable sloth and indulgence. The saying that God will give bread for every mouth He sends, voices a faith that is of merit only when it impels to the endeavor which true belief and confidence in God must ever prompt and strengthen.

The prescription of the natural law being such, can now the civil authority intervene to declare and enforce it? We have seen that this latter law is by its nature less extensive than the former; that even in matters of vital interest to it, the State cannot legislate, for the reason that such action would be not only destitute of efficacy but positively subversive of that regard of and loyalty to law, upon which all true and safe order of society must depend and rest.

We have tried to show that a special cause exists why much of the legislation for the restriction of marriage proposed by some of our reformers and sociologists would be necessarily futile. But there is another reason to which we would now refer and which outweighs all the others as an argument against enlarging the scope of the civil law to the extent we have opposed. This is none other than the consideration of human liberty. It is needless to insist upon the dignity of that prerogative which forms the acme of man's per-

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fection and marks him off as the crown and glory of creation. Of such ineffable worth is this attribute, so necessary is it that it flourish, and form itself the law that should govern the life of man, that it were better to suffer no small number of abuses and infractions, even of the natural law, than that it should be unduly lessened.<sup>1</sup> Even though the civil power might succeed (which as a matter of fact is impossible) in framing laws that would define and control with all efficacy the most petty activities that man's physical and moral being might exercise, these enactments would, we dare say, constitute an evil more pronounced than the wrongs they had intended to remedy. For in becoming a subject of such pervasive and far-reaching statutes man degenerates to a mere living automaton. The initiative for good solely for the sake of the good; the power of abjuring evil from the sense of duty revealed to him by conscience rather than by the promulgations of human lawgivers, is that which makes man a moral agent and offers the occasion for his highest merit and reward. "He shall have glory everlasting, he that could have transgressed, and hath not transgressed, could do evil things and hath not done them," says the sacred writer, and we are not unmindful that Christ would have the cockle remain until the harvest, "lest perhaps," as He admonished those who would urge its removal, "while ye gather up the cockle ye root up the wheat together with it." From this it may not be argued that the bonds and leashes of restraint are to be at all relaxed or broken. Rather the reverse must be looked for. Restraint there must never cease to be, but it should be the discipline which appeals to the higher faculties in man. Such control, while most consonant with his exalted character, will be the surest means to make him realize his high estate and to keep it as "being to be judged by the law of liberty."

And this naturally leads us to the consideration of the attempts which have of late become so general, to direct and regulate legislation according to the postulates of the evolutionary theories championed by pronounced materialism. If, indeed, man were destined to the same end that awaits the brutes of the field; if there were in him nothing but what

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<sup>1</sup> S. Th., 1, 2, q. 96, a. 2.

under the action of physical law is to grow and ripen, then die and rot, it were well to radically change our present system of laws and above all, our methods of charity and philanthropy. In such a view, the crippled babe and helpless invalid are not only useless but insufferable burdens, and if through misdirected benevolence they have been let enter the world, enlightened charity, especially to society at large, demands that they be done away with, or if sentimental considerations still obtrude, that they be allowed to find their inevitable end like the wornout beast whom we turn on the commons. Says Mr. Lecky, in the book we have quoted at the beginning of this article: "Many things in modern life, among which ill-judged philanthropy and ill-judged legislation, have in no small part contributed to produce it (i. e., an anaemic population . . . living habitually at a low level of health); but two causes probably dominate over all others. The one is to be found in sanitary science itself, which enables great numbers of constitutionally weak children who in other days would have died in infancy, to grow up and marry and propagate a feeble offspring." The philanthropy and legislation as well as science that would operate to the ends which Mr. Lecky here describes, are not to be accounted ill-judged in the eyes of true Christian faith. In the sight of these the deformed, misshapen weakling, who is enabled to grow up and propagate an offspring, can outweigh an army of giants in the possession of that which he may transmit to progeny, feeble like himself, it may be, but having a worth and discharging a service that are not dependent upon health of limb or strength of muscle.

The poet tells us:

"Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,  
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,  
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit."

He might have enlarged the list of the "spirit's" impotent oppressors to include the frailty and disease of man's physical parts. For have we not all witnessed with admiration the victorious efforts of a strong mind and a generous heart over a weak and sickly frame that might at times impede but could not stop the exercise of their high and noble power. Such as

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these are not to be valued in terms of flesh and blood. They have vindicated, more eloquently than is given to the potency of pen or tongue to picture or declare, the might of mind over matter; though their abidance in the world may have been brief, they have in that time accomplished more than multitudes of their hardier, stronger-bodied fellows, who may taste larger measures of the world's delights and see a greater round of unlaborious days, but whose place will be more easily filled and with less regret. Viewed in this light the old axiom, "being is better than no being," is seen to have a broader sense than that which the metaphysicians who expressed it had directly intended.

But such appreciations are far from the mind of the philanthropists and legislators to whom we are referring. And it cannot be denied that, did they but push to a logical issue the principles they declare and would have us accept, the great army of the incapables and unfit would quickly pass from their troubled state, no longer to vex or annoy us. Then would ensue that struggle for existence from which would come the survival of the fittest; but it would be a battling of the ape and tiger, issuing in what could live and flourish only under a "heaven of iron" upon an "earth of brass."

JOHN WEBSTER MELODY.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

**Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England**, by the late Samuel Roffey Maitland, D. D., F. R. S., F. S. A., sometime Librarian to Archbishop Howley, and Keeper of the manuscripts at Lambeth, with an introduction by Arthur Wollaston Hutton, M. A., Rector of Easthope, Salop. John Lane, London and New York, 1899, 8°, pp. xix + 466.

In their "Introduction to the Study of English History" (London, 1882, p. 327) this work of Dr. Maitland is pronounced by Mullinger and Gardiner "a series of masterly criticisms, in which the unscrupulous tactics of many of the early Reformers are skillfully exposed." Foxe's so-called Book of Martyrs, the compilations of Strype, the ecclesiastical histories of Fuller and Collier, the History of the Reformation by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, were once the authorities for the story of the Reformation. But the advance of historical criticism, the publication of documents by the Government and by private societies, a succession of works like Brewer's Life of Henry VIII, and Gasquet's writings on the dissolution of the monasteries, the formation of the Book of Common Prayer, the eve of the Reformation, have convinced these seventeenth century writers of a multitude of falsehoods, inaccuracies, exaggerations, and calumnies, so that one may well say the whole history remains to be rewritten, and this time more in the temper and the sense of Dr. Lingard, whom Gardiner and Mullinger do not hesitate to call a "candid and judicious writer." In his "History of the Church in England" (London, 1857, vol. II, pp. 1-6), Canon Flanagan called attention to the want of independence of historians, contemporary or nearly so with the Reformation, to their systematic tampering with history, "even with the editions of authors long deceased," to theories advanced by them, not for love of truth but in the interest of the Reformers, to their unhistorical and needless vituperation, and their tissue of palpable falsehoods—the whole constituting an appeal to the half-educated masses.

The (20) "Essays" of Dr. Maitland, first issued in 1849, after most of them had appeared singly in the "British Magazine," are now reprinted with an introduction, in which the vague Utopian principle of a "living faith in Christ" is set forth as the touchstone of spiritual continuity in the Church of England, and Bishop Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583) is proposed as the typical character with which to interweave "a true and popular history of the Reformation." There is something deliciously



innocent in the plea by which the Duke of Somerset is cleared from his unholy avarice, the "circumstances of the day" excusing it! Over against this, however, we may put the admission (p. ix) that "during the last sixty years the one-sided and ill-informed estimate that for over two centuries almost exclusively prevailed, has been persistently criticised and largely abandoned." No one contributed more to this change of mind than Maitland. Nonconformist by birth, lawyer by training, gifted with fine critical instinct, ranging for years among original documents of the Reformation while librarian at Lambeth, a sincere lover of truth, and free from any "papal" tendencies,—he was the right man to initiate the "new learning" of Brewer, Dixon, Gairdner, Gasquet, and others. It is not necessary, at this date, to call attention to the well-known exposé of Bale, Foxe, Strype, and Burnet,—those telling pages are the commonplaces of all who follow the history of the English Reformation. In lieu thereof, we may be permitted to recommend these "Essays" as an admirable manual of practical historical criticism. There is scarcely a page on which does not shine some truth or principle or guidance of supreme import to the historian. The facts often sink away into insignificance, like a sordid setting to some great jewel, in face of certain formulas or canons of historical research. How neatly he depicts (p. 241) the gradual transition from hypothesis to certainty, which is one of the "tricks of the trade" with some historians:

"It is curious to see how quietly, and I am quite willing to add, unconsciously, some writers contradict themselves, and how easily their self-contradictions pass off with their readers, if only a few pages intervene; but when the passages are placed in juxtaposition, and one tries to imagine the facts, what a puzzle they make!"

Here is another paragraph (p. 242) worth citing at length for the accurate and luminous statement of a phenomenon that strikes the Catholic historian more frequently than any other:

"Perhaps every man who really believes a story which contains some impossibilities, is liable to soften it in the relation not merely as an apology for his own belief, or to conciliate the belief of others, but because the little matters dropped, or the explanatory suggestions inserted, have been put out, or put in, during the process of his own reception of the story; so that the story really exists in his mind in the modified form in which he hands it over to the next relater, that he may take his turn at probableizing, and pass it on. Such writers are not to be charged with anything like intentional falsehood; but that they are in fact the cause of much misconception and mistake of facts, and therefore of all the false reasoning and false philosophy that is built on such false imaginations, is beyond all doubt. It is only by tracing stories back that we can

judge how far they have been subjected to this process. The reader who for the first time meets an anecdote in its hundredth edition, and its most mitigated and swallowable form, may very naturally receive it in simple good faith, without the least idea that if he were to strip it down to its foundation, facts and authorities, it would show itself to be an incredible and monstrous lie."

The style of Maitland is in keeping with the qualities of his mind, lucid, with a tendency to epigram and compactness, sparkling with point, suggestions, allusions,—the style of a gifted talker who was at once a man of letters and a shrewd observer of all about him. Though the volume of his work be small, yet its quality is superfine, and the sweep of its influence incalculable. Every Catholic should be grateful to the author of these "Essays" and of the "Dark Ages." Those who know him best and use him most will perhaps want to add:

"Talis tum sis, utinam noster esses."

T. J. S.

**Naturalism and Agnosticism.** The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Aberdeen in the years 1896-1898. James Ward. New York: The Macmillan Co.; 1899. 2 vols., pp. xviii + 302; pp. xiii + 294.

Professor Ward's high standing as a writer on psychology and philosophy insures a welcome for these volumes. Twenty lectures, delivered during a period of three years, are here grouped in five parts, under these significant titles: The Mechanical Theory; Theory of Evolution; Theory of Psychophysical Parallelism; Refutation of Dualism; Spiritualistic Monism. The author warns us that these lectures do not form a systematic treatise. "They only attempt to discuss in a popular way certain assumptions of 'modern science' which have led to a widespread, but more or less tacit, rejection of idealistic views of the world." Still, the range of the discussion is large, the problems fundamental, and the presentation orderly. The outcome of the argument is that materialism, naturalism, agnosticism and dualism must be abandoned in favor of a spiritualistic monism, which remains the one stable position. "It is only in terms of mind that we can understand the unity, activity, and regularity that nature presents. In so understanding we see that Nature is Spirit."

This conclusion our author reaches by a process of elimination; his work, in fact, is mainly one of destructive criticism. But his final aim is constructive, to show, namely, that the admissions, perplexities and betray-

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als of the theories which he examines lead on to the theory which he maintains. For the purely mechanical view of the universe he would substitute the teleological. Dualism he would replace by monism; only, this is neither materialistic nor agnostic, but idealistic. His sharpest criticism is directed against that blending of naturalism and agnosticism which is found in the "Synthetic Philosophy." Mr. Spencer, indeed, is taken to task with a severity of which even he, as the chief sinner, may fairly complain. On the other hand, the modern German schools of thought escape with an occasional mention.

As to his own position, the doctrine of Professor Ward is not absolutely new. Essentially it consists in holding that mind furnishes the data for the interpretation of everything that is not mind. The very conception of natural law is teleological; it rests on the analogy of civil law. "If man had never made laws he could never know law, and if he were not a free agent he could neither make laws nor obey them." So we are led to this result: "It being, in general, granted that our conception of the unity and regularity of Nature is entitled to the name of knowledge—being ever confirmed, never falsified, by experience—we are now equally entitled to say that this unity and regularity of Nature proves that Nature itself is teleological, and that in two respects: (1) it is conformable to human intelligence, and (2), in consequence, it is amenable to human ends."

The naturalism which is opposed to this view assumes a dualism of mind and matter; but what we really find is a duality of subject and object in the unity of experience. Two forms of experience must be recognized,—the experience of a given individual, and experience as the result of intersubjective intercourse. But since the subject of universal experience is one and continuous with the subject of individual experience and shows the same intimate articulation of subjective and objective factors, it follows that experience is one organic unity.

The extent of this monism is not quite clear. Professor Ward evidently holds to the conception of God as the Knowable First Cause, Supreme Intelligence, Creative Mind. He demurs to the Spencerian notion of an inscrutable Power behind phenomena. But he does not offer any theory as to the relation between finite intelligences and the Divine Mind. Insisting that the historical is what we understand best, and what concerns us most, he adds: "How far below us, how far above, the historical extends, we cannot tell. But above it there can be only God as the living unity of all, and below it no longer things, but only the connecting, conserving acts of the one Supreme."

With his monism, as applied to the realm of experience, we may find fault; and to his identification of Idealism and Spiritualism we may

take exception. Yet his work as a whole is full of significance. Its main thesis is a reaction against that philosophy which, pretending to be the only interpreter of science, would do away with the spiritual and reduce to mere mechanism the mental life without which science itself were impossible.

E. A. P.

**Life beyond Death.** Minot Judson Savage, D. D. G. P. Putnam's Son's, New York, 1900, pp. xi. + 329.

The sub-title informs us that this volume is "a review of the world's beliefs on the subject, a consideration of present conditions of thought and feeling, leading to the question as to whether it can be demonstrated as a fact." This large promise expands into thirteen chapters which, beginning with "primitive ideas," run their course through ethnic beliefs, Bible teaching, mediæval speculation, protestantism, agnosticism and physical research. There is added an appendix containing "some hints as to personal experiences and opinions." The conclusion is that psychical research is the one hopeful line of investigation for those who would deal with the problem of immortality.

Readers who are familiar with the literature of the subject will be at a loss to know just how Mr. Savage's work should be classed, or why it should be classed at all. The author, apparently, is not troubled with any suspicion that others have gone over the same ground more carefully and might, therefore, deserve mention. His own citations show a preference for the poets rather than for the philosophers. Not Plato nor Aristotle, but Homer is made to speak for the Greeks; and Dante bears the burden for the Middle Ages. These, of course, were dark; and no one expects an author who is laced about with strictly scientific methods to discover anything new in the way of darkness. Even the account of spiritistic phenomena is so meagre that one may wonder whether the voluminous "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research" be not published in vain.

But if the book offers nothing new upon the problem under discussion, it renders one service which ages to come will feel bound to appreciate. It affords an insight into the author's mind and tells a good deal about his experience, especially about his relations with leading spirits at least on this side of the veil. He has taken such care to make his position clear that there can be no excuse for those who misunderstand him. Earnest seekers after truth will not be attracted by the tone of the book: it is too flippant. But there is an obvious endeavor to be as frank as possible and to refrain from dogmatizing. Nor can there be any doubt of the author's sincerity when, coming down to etymology, he gives us the pith of agnosticism in the concise statement: "*Agnosco* [I do not know]."

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**Biblical Treasury of the Catechism;** compiled and arranged by Rev. Thomas E. Cox. Large 12mo. Cloth. Wm. H. Young & Co., New York. \$1.25.

A mere glance at the list of new books issuing from Catholic sources suffices to convince one of the increasing activity among Catholic writers on Biblical matters. The demand for the Bible itself is rapidly increasing. Dissertations on the Canon, on the Inspiration, on the Authorship, etc., of the Sacred Books, new Translations, Introductions, Studies, and Bible Helps are appearing in abundance. Reading Circles and the Summer Schools have helped on the work.

Outside of the Church, on the contrary, Destructive Higher Criticism has been doing the Bible to death. In the midst of varying creeds and conflicting opinions on the book, Protestants, who love what they call the Bible, are going astray, because they have lost confidence in their leaders. Catholic authors are availing themselves of the opportunity to prove in a practical manner, that the Church is now, as she always has been, the sincere defender of the good book.

"The Biblical Treasury of the Catechism" is a book that meets the demand of the time, though it should have been published twenty years ago. It is divided into four hundred and twenty-one questions, numbered according to the questions of the Baltimore Catechism. The questions and answers of the Catechism are printed, without abridgment, in full-faced type as headings. The texts of Scripture that illustrate the teaching of the Catechism are put underneath in a concise and orderly way. The Scriptural passages are printed in old style type. Arabic figures of modern style are used for the references, which appear in the form of fractions to facilitate memorizing. The work is itself a thesis, proving how abundant is the biblical basis for Catholic doctrine, as taught in the Catechism. Those outside the fold may well be astonished at the array of Bible proofs for the faith of the Church. The compiler is to be congratulated on the thoroughness with which each question is treated, and on the order observed. The sequence of texts, together with their intrinsic interest, makes the perusal of the book a pleasure, and gives to the volume a decided value as a book of spiritual reading. The work is one which appeals at once to priests, who will find it of great assistance in preparing their sermons. The catechist, also, will find in the Scripture texts the means of making every lesson full of life. The work is destined to have this further good result: It will be the means of leading many to read the Scriptures for the sake of the Catechism, while others will read the Catechism for the sake of the Scriptures. The publishers have brought out the work in a handsome volume of over four hundred pages, beauti-



fully printed on a fine quality of paper, and bound in silk cloth. The "Biblical Treasury" has the "Nihil Obstat" of the Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, D. D., Bishop of Peoria, and the "Imprimatur" of the Most Rev. P. A. Feehan, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago.

C. P. G.

**The Gospel According to St. Matthew**, with an explanation and critical commentary, by Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Woodstock College, Md. St. Louis, Mo: B. Herder, xli, 317. 1898.

This new Commentary on the first Gospel has been prepared by a learned and experienced biblical scholar, whose patient research and untiring industry are evident in the carefully digested and well-arranged materials composing this large volume. Its general appearance is attractive. The paper is firm and not transparent. The print, though usually small, is very bold and clean cut, and can be read with pleasure.

One feature of the work, which will be heartily welcomed by the average reader, is the "Introduction," in which the conditions under which this Gospel was written, along with many other facts connected with its composition, are set forth with sufficient completeness of detail to enable the reader to understand its contents better than he otherwise could. In this part of the work the author gives a remarkably complete table of contents (pp. 1-9). Then follows the Introduction proper (pp. 13-41), in which are discussed, in so many chapters: 1. The First Evangelist; 2. The Authenticity of the First Gospel; 3. The Original Language of the First Gospel; 4. The Readers of the First Gospel; 5. The Object of the First Gospel; 6. The Structure and the Character of the First Gospel; 7. When and where the First Gospel was written.

This introduction is of fundamental importance; for, though not treated so exhaustively as is done in special works on the subject, still the fullness with which the above-mentioned topics are here handled, forms one of the characteristics of this Commentary, and enhances its value to the ordinary reader, to whom special treatises on such subjects are inaccessible.

The Exegesis, covering 317 large pages, is excellent in its arrangement. It consists of three parts. The first is the text of the English Douay Version. The second, which is one of the features of this work, consists of the large number of various readings found in the MSS. of the Greek Text and of the Ancient Versions. These textual notes, which are so abundant as to be indicated on nearly every page, embody the results of the latest and best researches into the minutiae of the text. It need not scandalize the reader to learn that, when the Greek and the Latin disagree, the author, notwithstanding the decree of the Council of Trent,

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which declares the Vulgate authentic, allows himself to be guided by critical principles, and sometimes gives the preference to the Greek original over the Latin translation. The third part, or the Commentary proper, presents full expository comments, based on a careful study of the text. It is a pleasure to observe that, on every page, the commentary largely preponderates in bulk over the text. This is true, especially where some fundamental doctrinal passage is concerned, as may be seen on pages 255-280, in commenting the history of the institution of the Holy Eucharist. Lack of space will not permit a more detailed examination of the author's methods of exposition. Suffice it to say that thoroughness is apparent on every page, both in the methods employed and in the results obtained. The work will be helpful to students and to the clergy generally.

C. P. G.

**Paulus und die Gemeinde von Korinth auf Grund der Beiden Korintherbriefe**, von Dr. Ignaz Rohr, Repetent am Kgl. Wilhelmstift in Tübingen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1899; X + 157.

At no time, probably, in the last two hundred years has so keen an interest been taken by Catholics in the study of Sacred Scripture as at the present day, and the "Biblische Studien" is one of the proofs and one of the most remarkable results of this interest. It is a peculiar excellence of these "Studies," that they are thoroughly critical and scientific in their methods and, at the same time, thoroughly Catholic in their results; the present number is no exception to the rule. As its title indicates, the purpose of this brochure is to serve as a guide to those who may desire a clear statement of the results of critical research, thus far reached by scholars of the present day, on the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. As is evident, some such help is necessary to the student; for these epistles are made doubly difficult by the numerous local and personal allusions in which they abound. The Corinthian Church exhibited some remarkable peculiarities. Corinth, the capital of the southern part of Greece, had been destroyed by the Romans under Mummius, B. C. 120, and rebuilt by Julius Cæsar B. C. 46. It was on the highway between Rome and the East, and the command of a seaport on both gulfs, one on each side, made it the center of commerce between Europe and Asia, and the resort of a heterogeneous population composed of all nationalities. At the time of St. Paul's first visit, about A. D. 53, it had become a city of more than 600,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom were free men, and two-thirds slaves. This population consisted of the descendants of the colony of Roman freedmen settled there by Julius

Cæsar nearly a century before; of Greeks attracted, by a variety of motives, from the surrounding country to the new city; of merchants and traders of all sorts from Europe and Asia, and of adventurers from every shore of the Mediterranean Sea; this turbulent mass was vastly swollen by the returning tide of Jews expelled from Rome just at that time by the Emperor Claudius.

But Corinth was as heterogeneous in thought as it was in population. In culture it was substantially a Greek city, though in some respects it resembled Rome, and in others it resembled Jerusalem. Though it cultivated the fine arts and abounded in schools of rhetoric and philosophy, and surpassed all the other cities of Greece in literature, in wealth, and in commerce, yet the corruption of manners kept pace with its material and intellectual prosperity. It was the most immoral city in Greece.

To the infant Church in such a city St. Paul's two Epistles were addressed. No doubt, in writing them he had in view much that regarded the peculiar circumstances of such a mixed population and much that is unfamiliar to us. Hence, anything that will prove helpful to the proper realization of the historical framework of these epistles, in their literary beauty, in their moral power, and in their religious significance, must be as welcome to the pastor and preacher as it is to the scholar. With this intention Dr. Rohr has approached the investigation of the problem. After a brief introduction, in which he clearly outlines his method, he takes up the subject in sections. In the first he discusses the "*Vorbereitung und Grundlegung des Christenthums*;" in the second, the "*Gemeindeordnung*;" in the third, the "*Geistesgaben*;" in the fourth, the "*Sittliche Verfassung der Gemeinde*;" in the fifth, the "*Parteiungen und Parteien*."

As is evident, the topics are various; rival factions in the Church, lawsuits between Christians before Pagan tribunals, a notable case of incest, marriage, divorce, the "*Casus Apostolicus*," virginity, the eating of meats offered to idols, scandal, charity, the speaking of women in Christian assemblies, abuse of various spiritual gifts, disorders at the Eucharistic Table, and the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. It is true such a singular combination of cases may never again occur in any one locality in the Church, but the general principles involved in the Apostle's manner of deciding these cases may serve for the solution of analogous cases to the end of time. The Apostle sets forth, in the order in which the facts occurred, the underlying principles, and applies them to social problems, to public worship, to the Sacraments, to the various states in life, and to Church government. Dr. Rohr is of the opinion, and he seems to make his position good, that these two Epistles are of special significance for our own times, because they have to do

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with tendencies and currents of thought closely allied to the socialistic movement of to-day, and because the fundamental principles laid down for the Corinthians should serve as guides for us in all efforts at reform in social matters.

The treatment of these topics is thorough and interesting. In view of the obscurity in which questions so remote from us both in time and space are naturally involved, it is not to be expected that the author should have reached conclusions that can in every case, be considered as established beyond all doubt or cavil. Of this no one is so well aware as he, as is clear from the choice of the motto on the title page of his work, "*Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate*" (1 Cor., 13, 12). His caution is shown in this, that, in some instances, after quoting all the authorities and weighing all the arguments for and against a position, he thinks it better to suspend judgment than to mislead by an overhasty conclusion from insufficient evidence.

Dr. Rohr's manner of exposition is lucid, his language is elegant and often animated, and his methods and general critical principles are such that no one can take exception to them. As samples of his style, read his explanation of 1 Cor., 7, 36, on page 64 ff, 78 ff, 91 ff, and especially his characterization of the "Christ Party," p. 147.

The author has done a splendid service by writing this volume. It cannot fail to make the two epistles to the Corinthians more intelligible to all who are interested in them. The work is marked throughout by an excellent spirit and illustrates the possibility of combining the critical faculty with sentiments of reverence for God's Word.

C. P. G.

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**Heliand:** *Poema Saxonieum Seculi Noni, ou Poème de la Vie de Jésus, composé par ordre de l'Empereur Louis le Debonnaire, sous les auspices de Saint Luidger, évêque de Munster, en l'année 814. Etude critique et version littéraire, vers par vers, d'après le manuscrit Saxon découvert en 1794, à la bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Bamberg, par le chanoine Gérard Gley, de Gérardmer. V. Mohler, Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine. J. Maisonneuve, 1898, 8°, pp. 176.*

In 1794, the French Canon, Gérard Gley (d. 1824, Curé of the Invalides), author of a history of the language and literature of the ancient Franks, discovered in the library of the cathedral of Bamberg, an ancient German poem, which proved, on examination, to be a paraphrase of the Life of Christ as told in the Gospels. Hence the title "*Heliand*", the Healer, the Saviour. Besides publishing in French extracts from the work, Gley, it is said, printed at Tours, in 1819, a complete transla-

tion into French, of which work, however, no trace can now be found. In 1830, Schmeller published at Munich, a translation due principally to Rheinwald, the collaborator of Gley. Since then many German editions have appeared, Koene (1855), Grein, Kanengiesser, Sievers (1878), Simrock (1882), Hermann (1895). In the work before us, M. Mohler undertakes to make good the loss of Gley's translation, and offers, not a word-for-word rendering, but a close presentation of the actual sense of the 5985 verses which compose the "Heliand". They are written in alliterative octosyllabic metre, the outcome, we are told, "of the old religious chants of the Aryan race, which were sung by the whole people drawn up in a circle, with a four-step motion, to right and to left, forward and backward, the regular swaying of which dance dwindled away in time to the spoken cadences of the strophe held fast by the even recurrence of syllables beginning with the same consonant, and therefore easily accentuated." Since Grein and Koene, the literature of the "Heliand" is simply enormous,—the classic treatment of it remains yet that of Sievers (1878). Its interest is manifold, first as a very ancient specimen of the German tongue,—the "altniederdeutsch," though critics are not all agreed as to the exact "patria" of the writer,—whether Westphalian, Frank, or Saxon, though indeed he surely belongs to the same race and the same locality that furnished Britain with its Angles, Jutes and Saxons. The date of the poem is put by Mohler at 813-814, though Plummer (*V. Bedae Opp. Hist.*, 1896, II, p. 254) cites Windisch as "showing incontestably that the 'Heliand' is under obligations to Rhabanus Maurus for use of his commentary on the (Tatian) Gospel of St. Matthew, written 820-821." Like Milton, he is also under obligations to Avitus of Vienne, for use of his poem "De Creatione Mundi." As to the place of origin it is put down as the convent of Mimigarda, near Münster, which was founded by St. Luidger, in 773.

The literary value of the "Heliand" has been variously appreciated. Some German scholars will have it that it is sister to the Nibelungen and Gudrun, that it surpasses even the Messiad of Klopstock, and equals often the blind bard of steep Chios. This is the spirit of Vilmar (*German Antiquities in the Heliand*, Marburg, 1862). The Saviour is a true German Kayser, and the apostles are his "Getreuen," his "Comites", and loyalty, honor, bravery are the high qualities of these spiritual "warlords". It is a great breathing picture of the native Franconian life, customs, ideas, and ideals, ere the "Wälsche" falsehood and cowardice were domesticated,—a monument of the spirit of Charlemagne himself, who named the months and the winds in Frankish, began to compose a grammar of the Frankish tongue, and wrote down and memorized those "poetica carmina gentilia" that his pious son Louis would neither read,

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hear, nor teach. Others, like Scherer (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1889, p. 48) will not see in it anything epical, nor hold it to be the noblest and sublimest work of poetry that Christians have ever produced. It is a didactic poem, a free paraphrase of the Gospels, the earnest appeal of the missionary who clothes in poetical language his love of souls. In any case, it is high and holy reading, this Christian bit of the old "*Fragmenta Theotisca*", and the German-speaking world prize it highly along with the Wessobrunner Prayer, the Oath of 832, and the poem of Otfried of Weissenburg.

Curiously enough, a page of Flaccus Illyricus (*Catalogi testium veritatis*, 1562) seems to show a knowledge of this old Saxon poem, though he refers also to a concomitant translation of the Old Testament. He says that the author, a "*non ignobilis Vates de gente Saxonica*," was instructed in his sleep (by angels?) "*ut sacrae legis praecepta ad cantilenam propriae linguae congrua modulatione coaptaret*". Flaccus was a great liar, and no authority for his lengthy paragraphs has ever been discovered; but it has been pointed out by Sievers (*Plummer*, l. c., p. 257) that no renaissance scholar would make the old German writer divide his poem "*per vitteas*—A. S. *fit, fitt*, Middle English, *fytte*, a song or poem. Now the Venerable Bede (H. E. IV. c. 24) narrates a somewhat similar story of the Anglo-Saxon poet, Caedmon, the "cowherd bard of Whitby." Among some mediæval Latin verses cited by Flaccus, in his description is the line :

"Qui prius agricola mox et fuit ille poeta."

It is very strange, to say the least, that both Caedmon and the author of the "*Heliand*," and perhaps of the Anglo-Saxon poem known as "*Genesis B*," should open the great line of English and German poets as divinely instructed dreamers. A somewhat similar story is told of Hesiod and of the Icelandic shepherd-bard Hallbjörn.

Apropos of this book, I am tempted to raise the question as to the influence of the Irish teachers of the court of Charlemagne in the production of such works. That they were occupied with the New Testament may be seen from Olden's "*Holy Scriptures in Ireland one thousand years ago*" (Dublin, 1888), from the perfect study of Samuel Berger, "*L'Histoire de la Vulgate*" (Nancy, 1893, pp. 29-61), and from their scriptural manuscripts yet extant. With regard to the Vulgate text used by the author of "*Heliand*," M. Berger says (p. xii) that it was largely fixed by the Irish missionaries and copyists, and that their influence in this respect was lasting. The Irish missionaries were numerous throughout Franconia in the eighth century,—we meet Kilian, Colman, Totnan, at Würzburg, precisely where, according to Eccard, a manuscript of the "*Heliand*" was kept at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From 1134 to 1497, there was in that city a "Monasterium Scoticum." Their influence on the handwriting of the ninth century Germans is admitted by Wattenbach (*Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*) and on their miniature painting by Keller (*Bilderzüge aus der irischen (St. Gall) Handschriften*). Sedulius of Liège, the "greges philosophorum" of Eric of Auxerre, the wisdom-sellers from Ireland, Clemens and Albinus, Dungal of Bobbio, the relations of the great Karl with the "Scoti" of St. Gall, their portrait in the verses of Theodulf of Orleans, and other indications show that the entire scholastic activity of the period 775-850 was dominated by them. That they took interest in the vernacular of their new "patria" is shown by the fact that the first attempt at a German dictionary seems to have been made by them; that they could preach to the people and did, like Gall, Kilian and others; that the oldest remnants of Gothic have been preserved to us by the labors of the Irish monks of Bobbio. Their native poetic instinct could not easily be quenched, as we see by the verses of Columbanus and by other texts; they were masters of a complicated system of rhyme and alliteration,—and they had already done no little to rouse the poetic vocation among the Anglo-Saxons. They were a race of poets, harpers, singers, wandering teachers, preachers, saintly men, skilled in the gospels, beloved by the people and the court,—what wonder if they roused some noble Frank or Saxon, taught him the charm of his own tongue and its adaptability to the religion of Christ, and passed on, leaving his musical story to do its work in their stead? How they did the same among the German folk of Northumbria, we learn from Mr. Stopford Brooke (*History of Early English Literature*, New York, 1892, pp. 274, 275). Speaking of Cynewulf's love of the sea, and his noble vocabulary, he says:

"All the nameless passion of the sea and the stormy sky, of the land winds and the white horses of the deep, of the black clouds and red lightning, entered day by day into the life of those who watched the business and the fury of the elements from the edges of the cliffs; and the watchers were men and women who had received the impress of the sea and its love, not only from their Teutonic forefathers, but from the Irish, whose tales are full of the great waters, and who were as much children of the billows as Beowulf and his men. . . . Not only then from one side but from two, the Northumbrians were prepared to receive the poetic impulse of the sea." In another work (*English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, New York, 1898, p. 133) the same writer says of Caedmon, that "Doppelgänger" of the author of "Heliand": "Though perhaps of Celtic descent, his tongue was English and his poems English; he wrote, 'in sua, id est, Anglorum lingua,' says Beda. But the monks of Whitby, who taught and helped

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him in his work were some of them Irish, and all of them under Irish influence; and Wülker conjectures that they laid before him, as a pattern for his poetry, or as an incitement, existing Celtic hymns, such as Colman's, of the seventh century. Thus, as the English learned the arts of writing and illumination from the Irish, so Caedmon may also have received from them an impulse to the making and form of his poetry." This is all I would suggest for the author of the "Heliand." It has already been admitted by Powell and Vigfusson for the Icelandic sagas,

T. J. S.

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**Archéologie du Moyen-Age et Ses Méthodes**, Etudes Critiques, par J. A. Brutails, Archiviste de la Gironde, Juge au Tribunal Supérieur d'Andorre. Paris: Picard 1900. 8°, pp. 234.

In a modest volume M. Brutails has exposed critical views of a high order concerning the schools of architecture in the Middle Ages, the "sources" of French or Gothic art, the abuse by archaeologists of certain fundamental notions of that science,—definitions, explanations and classifications of the facts of archæology,—the respective rôle of chronology and architectural science in the study of archæology. Local archivist and archaeologist himself, and author of numerous studies on the great monuments of Southern France, notably of the Pyrenæan region, he comes well qualified to treat the great questions of a science that has grown immeasurably in the last century.

Who formed the architects of the Middle Ages? It was the master-workman under the roof of his rude *chantier*, surrounded by his drawings, models, and specimens of material. His knowledge of mechanics and geometry was comparatively small, his skill in designing very inferior, his mind closed to the true sense of the old classic models he saw or drew. But he had the double power of imitation and initiative. If the classic Roman methods of construction long held him subservient, he was ever casting about for freedom, and in these long-sustained efforts created unconsciously many things new and serviceable. But the mediæval architect was slow to change,—his little world was local and homogeneous, his power of reasoning and execution great, but his field of observation narrow. Rouen, Speyer, Ely, Burgos, had each a unity and consistency of domestic architecture, as did every mediæval city,—there was no London or New York where the citizen can see in one hour specimens of every architecture known to men. But if tradition dominated the architect's work-shop, an infinite variety was provided for by the nature of his materials, their accessibility, the character of the stone,—hard or soft,—by the climatic conditions,—light, rain, snow,—by the social conditions of his

neighborhood, and by the racial temperament of those for whom he worked. Here arises the question of the limits of symbolism in mediæval architecture. M. Brutails will admit but two elements as universal and assured,—Eastern direction of the church-edifice and the inclination of the apse toward the right,—these seem to him to be always intentional, other symbolism being read into the architecture later on, about as the ninth century liturgists read new symbolisms into the ecclesiastical vestments.

M. Brutails takes issue with some very prominent authorities on Gothic architecture, like Viollet le Duc, Verneilh, Louis Courajod, and others. He is not so ready as they to admit Gaulish (Keltic), Syro-Byzantine, general Oriental, or Norman influences on the early mediæval architecture,—or, at least, to admit that they were original and impulsive influences. That Persian tapestries, Oriental ivories, Byzantine miniatures, and all the “minor arts” that came in by way of the Mediterranean ports, and worked their way up the Rhone and thence inland, had varying circles of influence, he does not deny. But the two creative elements of the mediæval Gothic were the imitation of the old Roman monuments and the personal genius of the rude artisans who, in time, made architects of themselves, not blindly as the bee makes its golden dome, but intelligently, by endless efforts, not one of which was lost, and the sum of which make up that pure French Gothic, which Moore, in his “Gothic Architecture” (Macmillan, 1899, p. 428), calls “the most splendid architectural product that human genius and skill have thus far wrought in this world.” Of the foreign analogies M. Brutails maintains that they are not always proof of filiation, that a great “hiatus,” for example, exists between the Syro-Byzantine Christian churches with which M. de Vogüe has made us familiar in his classic work on the civil and religious architecture of Northern and Central Syria from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and the church of Saint Front de Périgueux, whose pendentive cupolas M. Brutails will not admit to be of Oriental origin, but rather the outcome of local and independent attempts to raise a wide spherical roof of stone on free-standing pillars. He reminds us that through the Middle Ages, while ornamentation is subject to external influences, the technique of the masons and other builders remained long unchanged,—a mixture of reminiscences and empiric knowledge.

Apropos of the Norman contribution to Gothic, while he recognizes the narrow geographical limits of that noble architecture, yet he calls attention to the fact that its monuments are chiefly ecclesiastical,—hence the structural peculiarities of a wood-using people like the Scandinavian ship-builders are *a priori* shut out. Moreover, the monuments on which the ancient influence of the axe and saw may be noted are usually of a

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civil or a military character. The oldest belfry in France, that of Saint Front de Périgueux, is not of Norman origin, but of ancient Roman construction. Thus he eliminates Ruprich-Robert's theory of the Gothic capitals being drawn from the square-hewn post-heads of a Scandinavian hall. The ogee, the flying-buttress and the broken arch are the three general criteria of Gothic, and all three require and suppose more solid materials than wood. Nor will he have the theory of Courajod, according to which one of the chief influences to which the Gothic is owing, must be sought in the Visigothic kingdom of the fifth century. Here the barbarian Christians were anti-Roman, and here, in cities like Marseilles and Arles, that "little Rome of the Gauls," met the artists of Byzantium, Ravenna, Syria, and the nobles and priests of the Merovingians and the Carolingians. In this way, thinks Courajod, came in the architectural knowledge and practice of the Christian Orient. But the "Variae" of Cassiodorus show that the principles of Roman architecture, its manuals and methods, still existed. The public architect at Rome is bidden by Theodoric (*Variae*, vii, 15) to "read the books of the ancients," and (*ibid.* vii, 5) to "see that your new work harmonizes well with the old. Study Euclid—get his diagrams well into your mind; study Archimedes and Metrobius." In the same formula the palace architect is reminded that "the builder of walls, the carver of marbles, the caster of brass, the vaulter of arches, all come to you for orders, and you are expected to have a wise answer for each,"—no doubt out of his books and the traditions of his office.

While M. B. admits for architecture the influences of conquest, especially when followed by immigration of the conquering people as in Ireland, England, Sicily,—likewise the influence of Cluny and Citeaux,—he teaches us that the gradual modifications of style in the Middle Ages were owing to the habitual and daily influences of travel,—the pilgrim, the minstrel, the monk—and to commerce, the peddler, the Jew, the merchant; that building methods changed less easily than the motifs of decoration; that the Romanesque is the true parent of the Gothic. In this I cannot see that he differs much from Kraus (*Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Berlin, 1897, II, pp. 103–105) save that the German writer insists on the Teutonic specimens of the Romanesque. Both see in it the old Roman Christian basilica, whose flat roof gives way to the stone vault and whose monolith columns are replaced by stout pillars. It is a long process by which this vault is lifted, these pillars made both slender and strong, the spaces widened, naves multiplied, transepts thrown out firmly, the walls hollowed out and thinned down, the whole edifice reduced to an admirable framework of thrustings and balancings where all is light, room, and freedom; where from a solid base all soars



and sweeps aloft in a unity never broken but ever bursting into more manifold spiritual expressions as it draws itself skyward. M. Bruntail's book is quite suggestive and stirring,—the reader will find in it a judicious weighing of much that is new in the story of Gothic art, a reasoned-out conservatism of views, and in general, a scientific summary of what seems now assured and tenable.

T. J. S.

**De Veteris Latinae Ecclesiastici Capitibus I-XLIII** una cum notis ex eiusdem libri translationibus Æthiopica, Armeniaca, Copticis, Latina altera, Syro-hexaplaro depromptis—scripsit Dr. Theol. Henr. Herkenne repetens in collegio Albertino Bonnensi. Leipzig: Hinrich's, 1899, pp. 1-268.

That the text of Ecclesiasticus be restored to its primitive purity has been the wish of all those interested in Biblical studies for the past century; to do so, has been the never-fully-realized ambition of many of the ablest critics, particularly of the late Prof. de Lagarde.

A few years ago an important step was made in that direction, thanks to the discovery of some fragments of the lost Hebrew original. Speedily given to the public by such scholars as Schechter and Neubauer, those long-desired witnesses were examined and cross-examined without delay by an élite of textual critics; it is but just to say that quite a good amount of precious information was furnished by that examination. The enthusiasm, however, was soon dampened by the sad discovery that the Hebrew recension, represented in those fragments, had hardly fared better at the hands of the copyists and correctors than the Septuagint's different recension, the Syriac version, or the *Vetus Latina* incorporated in our Vulgate. After a short period of excitement, the textual critics had to resume their labors, with the assistance of the versions without feeling much nearer a satisfactory solution of the Ecclesiasticus puzzle. Consequently the present volume, although representing a series of researches undertaken two years before the discovery of the Hebrew fragments, is still in order. It places in an entirely new light the *Vetus Latina*, as this appears in the book of Ecclesiasticus, and shows that if that version was not made on the Hebrew original, as claimed by Sabatier in the past century, and half-conceded, in our own days, by such men as de Wette, Welte and Westcott, yet it is not correct to say that it is but a poor and unfaithful rendering of the Greek. Made first on the received Greek, it was later corrected on another Greek recension, itself corrected on the Hebrew. In fact, among the versions of Ecclesiasticus, the V. L. ranks next to the received Greek and the Peshittâ, and, in several readings, it alone renders faithfully the Hebrew original. It throws considerable light on the

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disposition and condition of the text in the oldest Hebrew manuscripts, showing, for instance, that the Hebrew manuscript in the hands of the grandson of Jesus, son of Sirach, was not written in *stichs* and that very probably, the words were not separated from one another; that it was not free from abridgments and omissions, etc. The V. L. moreover, supplies some important information about the Greek manuscript on which it was made; for instance, that it was free from the perturbation of chapters we find in the received Greek and the other versions (with the exception of the Peshittâ), that it was written in columns, the lines consisting of about 20 (!) uncial letters, that the words were certainly not separated, etc., etc. Such details, *if well established*, are of the greatest and most direct importance not only for the history of the V. L. itself, but also for that of the Septuagint and of the Hebrew, not to speak of the light they contribute to early palaeography.

We cannot but admire and praise the painstaking, the philological skill and practical knowledge of Oriental versions displayed by Dr. Herkenne in the *Commentarius Criticus*, the bulk of his book (pp. 39-267). The method is good and so is the actual treatment of the various points, (as far, at least, as we can judge from a cursory examination). But the matter treated in the first pages (1-38) might have been disposed more systematically, under a general heading. An index or, at least, a table of contents, would have been welcome.

H. H.

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**The Life and Works of Dante Allighieri**, being an introduction to the study of the "Divina Commedia," by the Rev. J. F. Hogan, D. D., Professor, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1899, 8°, pp. 352.

In the preface to this work Dr. Hogan informs us that it "does not and could not profess to be an exhaustive treatment of the life and works of Dante. Composed, as it is in the main, of certain lectures delivered to the students of Maynooth College, it is intended chiefly for those who have neither the time nor the inclination to become specialists in the study of the Divina Commedia." This explains the very sketchy and superficial character of the fifteen chapters into which the book is divided, with the exception of the opening chapter on the "Life of Dante," which has unity and succinctness. The rest of Dr. Hogan's text reads more like the notes of a professor than a well-digested and academically written account of the life and works of the great Florentine. Indeed, the rather lofty title is excused by the author on the plea that he had little choice in the selection, "as the more obvious titles had been appropriated by others." With this reserve, the work may be very useful to

the beginners in Dante. It breathes a spirit of ardent love for his masterpiece, and exhibits a good intelligence of the temper, spirit and scope of the same. The literature of Dante is not always accessible to seminarians and college lads,—hence Dr. Hogan's excerpts and translations from the classical modern students and commentators of the poet ought to be welcome to teachers and disciples. The work is pervaded by a Catholic spirit, as may be seen from the chapters on "Dante an Orthodox Catholic" and "Dante and the Pope's temporal power." The book would be much more serviceable if such Dante-literature as Dr. Hogan quotes were gathered somewhere under one rubric, and an exact system of reference introduced and observed. As it is one must look painfully through the whole work to make sure of what modern writers have been drawn on for its construction. Then, too, there should have been a separate treatment of the principal "Editions" of Dante, first in Italian, and then in the various translations, with some brief note or appreciation whereby the youthful student might know the specific value or purpose of each edition. No student, for example, will learn from this book that there is a cheap and handy edition of all the works of Dante by Dr. Moore. The Latin translation of Giovanni da Serravalle is mentioned (p. 14) but nothing is said in the chapter on "Commentators of Dante" of Serravalle's interesting Latin commentary. Nor is there mentioned the title of this important publication brought out (Prato, 1891, in folio) under the auspices of Leo XIII, by the Franciscan scholars Marcellino da Civezza and Teofilo Domenichelli. One cannot help thinking that if the noble "Dante" of Franz Xaver Kraus (Berlin, 1897, pp. 792) had been taken as model by Dr. Hogan, he would have produced a manual of durable value and furthered still more the study of the "sommo poeta" in our schools and literary circles.

T. J. S.

### **The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century.**

By Leo Wiener. New York: Scribner's, 1899.

The prose writings of Israel Zangwill and translations of the poems of Morris Rosenfeld have made better known than ever before the inner life of the distinctively Jewish quarter found in nearly every large city. Formerly it seemed to be a life apart, with little more to arouse interest than the old world customs and the tenacity of adhesion to Oriental traditions manifested on the surface. The language spoken in the narrow Ghetto streets was considered by those outside the Jewish communities as unworthy of study and as barren of interesting thought as the language of an illiterate and uncultured savage. And even now, as Dr. Wiener says in his interesting book, the mental attitude of this people and their literature are "less known to the world than" the language and literature "of the Gypsy, the Malay or the North American Indian."

The language, however, is native to over five millions of people in Europe and a large number in America; and the literature contains many poems and prose writings delicately wrought, and expressive of tender and refined feeling.

Before the sixteenth century the Jews of Europe spoke the language of their Christian neighbors. Continual use of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the Talmudic writings brought in some Semitic words, but not in such a way as to produce a dialect. In the sixteenth century, however, a large number of Jews inhabiting the Middle Rhine country left Germany and settled permanently in Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. To those lands they carried with them their native German language. As little intercourse productive of deep impressions on their mental life was had with the Slavs around them, and as communication with Germany was interrupted, the Jews were thrown upon their own energies to develop, not only a new literature but a also new dialect. New surroundings demanded new words. Such words were borrowed from Semitic languages, and later on as commercial contact became closer Slavonic, and especially Lithuanian, words were added. The result was a wide divergence from the original German; not enough, however, to produce a new language; but merely a new dialect. With the development of the language a literature gradually arose, which after a while passed back into Germany, where it was received by the German Jews and its language became the vernacular Jewish. In former times the dialect was called *Judisch-teutsch*; through the efforts of reformers it became known as jargon. By those who speak it, the vernacular is called *Judisch*, and this has given rise to the name familiar in England and America, *Yiddish*.

As in all other literatures, so in Yiddish, poetry developed first. Much of that poetry has the character of folk-song. Wedding-songs, songs of childhood, of youth and old age have been produced, and many of them are very beautiful. As expressive of the rapidity with which the years of childhood go by, and as illustrative of the delicacy and charm of many Yiddish songs, the following may be quoted:

Yahren kleine, Yahren schoene,  
Was sent ihr aso wenig da?  
Ihr sent nor gekummen,  
Me hat euch schoen aufgenommen,  
Un' sent nor gewe'n bei uns ein Scho?  
Yahren junge, Yahren g'ringe,  
Was sent ihr aso gich aweg?  
Es seht euch nit kein Augel,  
Es dergagen euch nit die Voegel,  
Ihr sent aweg gar ohn' ein Eck'!

Dr. Wiener translates as follows: "Little years, beautiful years, why are there so few of you? You had scarcely come, you were well received, and you stayed but an hour with us!—Young years, light years, why have you passed so quickly? Not an eye can see you, not a bird can fly as swiftly. You have passed without return!"

In America Yiddish poetry has reached a high degree of development in the poems of Morris Rosenfeld. For years he has worked in the sweat shops of New York, and life has been so real and hard for him that his "Songs from the Ghetto" have a tragic tone, but are full of fine poetic feeling, and indicate that under worthy conditions he may produce poems of interest and value to many outside the small Ghetto world. In this century Yiddish prose has been produced in abundance. A large quantity of it, however, is made up of stories illustrative of and caricaturing the sect called Khassidim. In America the prose literature has passed through three stages: the era of the sensational novel, the dissemination of socialistic views, and lastly an attempt to popularize science, and produce a purer literature. An interesting feature of Yiddish literature is the drama. No great dramatist has, however, yet appeared. Many of the plays are translations or adaptations, such as the productions of J. Gordin.

Dr. Wiener deserves great praise for his history of Yiddish literature; it is the first attempt at a systematic classification and record of literary works entirely too little known. In this book the wealth of material has been indicated. The poems and prose writings quoted are a good illustration of the fine literary quality of much that has long been hidden from the world in this jargon literature. An excellent chrestomathy is appended to the book, and it is hoped that the intention of Dr. Wiener to publish a larger one, printed in proper type, shall be soon realized.

E. B. G.

**The Three Archangels** and the Guardian Angel in Art. By Eliza Allen Starr. Chicago, 1899, published by the author, 16°, pp. 77.

Around some seventeen reproductions of masterpieces of Fra Angelico, Raphael, Perugino, Luini, Murillo, Overbeck, Von Deutsch and others, Miss Starr has woven a text that is full of Christian truth and sweetness. There are many things in Catholicism eternally winsome by reason of their poetry and their mysticism,—among them is the veneration of the Holy Angels. An heirloom of the Jewish Church, a living force in the Old Law, and equally so in the New, this feature of Catholic life has always been jealously guarded by the Church. It is eminently in keeping with the history of mankind as related in the Sacred Writings, and is

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especially calculated to keep alive the meaning of Creation, Providence, the Fall of Man, Prayer, and God's immediate interest in His children. Would that such elegant little volumes might be multiplied! No book is better fitted as a companion to that chapter of the Catechism which treats of the holy spirits who sang at the dawn of the world's creation, and yet form the intimate household of the Creator. In another edition it would be well to correct the statement (p. 12) that Dionysius the Areopagite is a Christian writer of the first century,—if we say end of the fifth, we shall be much nearer the truth.

T. J. S.

**Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane.** Edited by David S. Hogarth. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1899. 8°, pp. 440.

Mr. Hogarth in editing this collection of essays has rendered a service to students of Scripture and Ancient History, and also to the general reader. The purpose of the volume is to present the latest facts of Archaeology, and estimate their influence upon accepted historical authorities, whether sacred or classical. In no field of research is there more activity than in that of history. Here, more than elsewhere, the conclusions, theories, opinions of to-day, are subject to constant change. In the light of the facts revealed by archaeology, the statements contained in many text-books must be modified or rejected, controversies judged, and history written anew. Hence the need of having these facts at our command. The specialist, it is true, may find necessary data for his particular study in the various magazines devoted to his science; but these are many, and so various, that they are hardly available to the scholar separated from large centers of learning, and practically useless for the general reader. Mr. Hogarth, with the assistance of those associated with him, has removed this difficulty, and in this one volume may be found the leading discoveries of a quarter of a century of research in Babylonia, Assyria, Egypt, Ancient Greece and Rome. The "authorities" with which these discoveries are compared are, for Babylonia, Assyria and Rome under the Empire, the Old and New Testament; for Egypt, Ancient Greece, Prehistoric Italy, and Rome of the Republic, the classical historians and writers, especially Herodotus, Diodorus, and Homer.

Naturally, the greatest interest centers around the question of archaeology and Hebrew authority. On this point controversy has been rife during the past ten years. In other fields new discoveries are looked to with interest, but they do not touch so vitally what pertains to the belief and the hopes of mankind. To Dr. Driver was allotted the task of treating this difficult subject. A recognized leader in matters pertaining to criticism, thoroughly versed in all that archaeology has made

known, Dr. Driver's statement as to the facts endorsed by the literary criticism of the Old Testament, and those revealed by archaeologists, may be relied upon. Those of his school may also be satisfied with his reasoning as to the bearing of these later discoveries upon the result of higher criticism, and give assent to the conclusions drawn therefrom; but Dr. Driver is too much imbued with the spirit of the critical school to realize, or bear in mind, that from another point of view these same facts may be read to a different conclusion. In this volume, over and above the narration, from an historical standpoint, of the facts of archaeology and their comparison with the statements contained in the Scripture, Dr. Driver holds a brief for the defense of Higher Criticism, and many of his broad inductions, and general conclusions, are drawn, and colored, under that influence. When the verdict of archaeology is not neutral, he says "the facts of archaeology, so far as they are at present known, harmonize entirely with the position generally adopted by critics" (p. 145). This is supposed to be the final verdict in the case of "The Bible vs. The Monuments." Regarding the historical accuracy of certain statements in the Old Testament, and their confirmation or denial by the testimony of the monuments, Dr. Driver marshals a wealth of evidence and criticism, but each point will have to be judged on its own merits. The general conclusion of Dr. Driver seems to be, that the chronology of the Old Testament is certainly at fault, and will have to be corrected in the light of modern discoveries (pp. 32 and 119); for the rest of the disputed questions, the conditions are unchanged by the testimony of the monuments. It remains, therefore, a question of Dr. Driver and his followers vs. Sayce, Hommel et al.

There is, however, another question which is more fundamental. In treating of Genesis, Dr. Driver seems to adopt the saying of Professor Sayce, namely, that the Babylonian traditions are the *ultimate* source whence the Hebrews drew the *elements* which find their way into their literature (p. 15); and, although admitting a "profound *theological* difference between these two narratives," the distinction as to the different elements which they contain is not sufficiently apparent. As far as the outward form, the literary setting, in which the story of Genesis is contained, the claim may, or may not, be so. At present it is a theory, upheld by most critics, it is true, but still subject to doubt and denial. To admit this statement, however, as true, in regard to the spiritual elements contained in this narration, would necessitate the changing of all our convictions as to the unique place held by the Jews in the history of religion. According to this old belief, the elements contained in the literature of the Old Testament have, as their *ultimate* source, a primitive revelation. The traditions, in which these elements were preserved, may

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have been influenced and modified by the ages and people through which they were handed down; but the distinguishing feature of Old Testament literature, and that which gives it a place apart in the literature of the world, is this, that it contains the great elementary spiritual truths revealed to man by God. The facts advanced do not demand or warrant our abandonment of this belief. The discovery of the creation tablets, (p. 9, sqq.) the existence of a Sabbath among the Babylonians (p. 17), their myths of a Paradise and Fall (p. 18), and legends of a Deluge (p. 20), do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the Biblical narrative is *ultimately* of Babylonian origin. To claim this, the writer would have to show such a complete similarity, both in matter and form, between the two sets of narrations, that it would be impossible, or at least improbable, that each could have originated separately, or both from some more primitive source. On the contrary, there exists, as Dr. Driver says, a wide difference between the two, at least from a theological standpoint. In the one we have an exuberant and grotesque polytheism; in the other, a severe and dignified monotheism; in the one, chaos is anterior to Deity, the gods are made, or produced—we know not whence or how—and they only gradually and with difficulty rise superior to the state of darkness and disorder in which they find themselves; in the other the supremacy of this one Creator is absolute, and His word alone suffices to bring about each stage in the work of creation (p. 14).<sup>1</sup> To account for this difference it will not suffice to state that "the Babylonian myth must have been for long years transplanted into Israel; it must there have been gradually divested of its polytheistic features and gradually reduced more and more to a simple, unadorned narrative of the origin of the world, until parts of it (we can not at present positively say more) were capable of adoption—or adaptation—by the author of Gen. i. as elements of his cosmogony" (p. 16). Rather would we hold to the rules laid down by Ewald, that when it is question of those traditions which are common to most people, their source must be sought beyond the histories of the separate nations, and in that obscure primæval period of the existence of one unknown but early civilized nation which was afterwards dissolved into the nations of that day.<sup>2</sup>

Rev. A. C. Headlam supplements this treatise of Dr. Driver by furnishing us, in Part III, entitled *Archæology and Christian Authority*, "an estimate of the gain accruing to our knowledge of early Christianity from archæological discovery." This increment is derived from a two-fold source, "the discovery of literary sources rescued from the Egyptian deserts" (p. 356) and the monumental remains. The importance of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization* c. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Jews*, I, 258.

literary evidence is apt to be unduly exaggerated on account of its antiquity. Consideration must be given to the facts that it is extremely fragmentary, and that it is almost impossible to place it in its right historical setting.<sup>1</sup> To appreciate the evidence of the monuments it must be remembered that it is for the most part indirect, "that there is nothing at all, as yet known, which touches in any way the earliest Gospel narrative" (p. 339). Their evidence but furnishes the background for the narrative of the Gospels. For the early history of Christianity, however, with details of which "the Acts of the Apostles bristle," we find that "every detail might be corroborated." The accuracy of St. Luke's narrative is tested by the statements regarding the Nativity of Christ, and their perfect accord with the facts made known by archaeology makes us "much less inclined to reject his evidence elsewhere, and certainly forbids us to adopt the attitude assumed by many critics, that a statement in the New Testament must be wrong unless it can be proved to be right" (p. 359). So far, the most satisfactory monumental evidence regarding early Christianity has been discovered in Phrygia. In the treatment of the Epitaph of Abercius, discovered by Professor Ramsay in 1881-3, and the interpretation of inscriptions on early Christian tombs (p. 373 seq), Mr. Headlam furnishes a good example of how these discoveries may be used for the building up of history. The Catacombs are especially dear to Catholics. Their discovery, use, and plan are interestingly told in a few pages. One conclusion reached by the study of the inscriptions contained in the Catacombs touches a much controverted subject, the presence of St. Peter in Rome. The evidence derived from these monuments endorses the tradition which held that "St. Peter and Paul were the joint founders of the Roman Church. Archaeology makes it quite clear that from the second century onward, the two apostles were jointly honored in an especial manner." True, "it does not prove the fact, it only proves the belief," . . . but in both (literature and monuments) the tradition is so strong that there is no real ground for doubting the fact (p. 408).

Egypt and Assyria, the homes of the oldest civilization that we know, are pre-eminently the sphere of the archaeologist. Mr. Griffith sketches what has been done in these countries, estimates the result, and holds out hopes for the future. The ancient history of Egypt has been made known only within recent years. Owing to the keen insight and faithful per-

<sup>1</sup>We could call attention here to the recent publication by Ignatius Ephraem II, Patriarch of Antioch, of the "Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi," a document purporting to be of the second century, and which is held by such eminent critics as Germain Morin, Harnack, and Achelis, to be about the age of Constantine, although containing fragments which are older, probably of the second or third century, but regarding which critics have not as yet had time to decide.—*Revue Bénédicte*, January, 1900, p. 10.

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severance of Young and Champollion the sphinx-like riddle of her hieroglyphic has been solved, and from the inscriptions the archaeologist may now offer to her historian "a rich harvest of facts" pertaining to her kings, her wars, her victories and defeats; whereby the latter may judge the historians of the past, and form his own estimate as to the march of events and the progress of civilization. Historians of Assyria and Babylonia are likewise indebted to this progress for much that will throw light upon many important periods and facts in the history of these countries. Herodotus is severely dealt with by the facts revealed by modern explorers. Thanks to the evidence which they have presented, we now know Egypt better than Herodotus himself, and are able to correct many of his errors regarding her more ancient history, add thereto many unrecorded dates, facts, and events; and form a much more perfect estimate of the conditions of the Egypt contemporary with his travels.

Mr. Griffith, after a short summary of the teachings of Herodotus (pp. 163-164), and comparing them with recent discoveries, declares the writings to be "a patch-work of different elements wrongly adjusted," (p. 168), collected probably from scattered records of the priests. "Obviously ignorant as to the succession of the kings, the classical authors can hardly be expected to exhibit much knowledge of events in Egyptian history of the early period" (169). Nor is their authority on contemporary history of much more value. In the light of the criticism of this paper, Herodotus appears like the superficial traveller of to-day, who, note-book in hand, gathers up the current gossip, and becomes the "raconteur" of Egypt, rather than her historian. "When we are able to check his individual statements they generally seem unfounded or a distortion of facts" (p. 191). The classical writings on the Ancient East must, therefore, be studied "more as records of news of the time, and of the personalities of the authors than of facts, and only those scraps of the old lore that bear rigorous testing" may be fitted into the new structure of Ancient History which modern scholars would build. By modern methods, the history, which at the beginning of this century began for us in the iron age, about 600 B. C., has been reconstructed and carried back nearly 3,000 years by the decipherer of the monuments; while "the excavator has pushed back historic archaeology some twelve centuries to the beginning of the late bronze age . . .; further still, he is tracking the use of stone, side by side with copper and bronze, until twenty centuries have been added to the twelve, and Menes, the traditional founder of the Egyptian monarchy, is reached. Beyond this, still he tracks it, but with no rule for the measurement of time" (p. 209), guided simply by the traces of man's development as told in the various instruments he has left behind him.



The Assyriologist has hopes of completing the canons "by which dates were intended to be identified in Babylonia and Assyria" and thus being able "to trace his way back, almost year by year to the beginning of the importance of Babylon, an epoch generally considered to fall about 2300 B. C." This, if accomplished, would serve in a great measure as a chronology for all the Euphratean countries. "Whether the chronology before that time can ever be more than very roughly estimated is still extremely doubtful" (p. 214). When all has been done, however, there is but scant hope of constructing a consecutive history of persons and events in the ancient world. All that may be hoped for is a "broad outline of development and change, chronologically graduated, and varied by occasional pictures of extraordinary minuteness and brilliancy."

The two chapters on Greece,—Prehistoric Greece, by the Editor, and Historic Greece, by Ernest A. Gardner,—will prove the most attractive to the general reader. Ancient Greece, in its ideals and civilization, was, as Professor Mahaffy says, much nearer to our own civilization of to-day than that of many contemporary peoples. For that reason, the masterpieces of Greek writing, and the monuments of an older civilization, "are not mere objects of curiosity to the Archaeologist, not mere treasure-houses of roots and forms to be sought out by comparative grammarians"; they are the vestiges of a people of like culture with ourselves, from whom we have inherited many of the elements contained in our civilization, and the ideals which inform our lives. The story of the results accruing to history since the first discoveries of Schliemann (1868), reads like a fairy tale. Inspired by love for the Homeric epoch, and guided by Pausanias, this explorer undertook his labors in the hope of proving the historical accuracy of that immortal poem. The results, although unsatisfactory if judged from the end which Schliemann had in view, have been beyond the broadest conjectures of the historic imagination. Although the bodies of Agamemnon and Atreus may have escaped the search of the excavators, there have been revealed to us a world and a civilization till now undreamed of, "a civilization capable of higher achievement which preceded the primitive Hellenic in Hellas" (p. 226). "Tombs, pottery or work in metals, gems, ivory, sculptured stone or modelled clay," all point to an "art before history." The result of all these discoveries rounded out in a paragraph is this: "Man in Hellas was more highly civilized before history than when history begins to record his state; and there existed human society in the Hellenic area, organized and productive, to a period so remote, that its origins were more distant from the age of Pericles than that age is from our own. We have probably to deal with a total period of civilization in the Aegean not much shorter than in the Nile valley" (p. 230). Whence originated this great

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civilization of the Greek lands? Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, all have claimed the parentage of this great deposit which so mightily influenced the history of the world. In the face of the Mycenaean discoveries their claims may be denied (p. 240). True, their influence may be discerned in the art of that prehistoric period, but under it all appear the traces of a people strong enough to stamp with their own individuality and originality all that was borrowed, and blend it into an artistic form, which has become the heritage of mankind. Scattered by invasions of less civilized nations, these people carried with them the memories of the "golden age, the age of heroes, and god-descended kings," which furnished the theme for the greatest of epics, and proved the root from which the later art sprang forth, and gave to the world its fairest blossoms under the magic culture of Pericles, Phidias and Praxiteles.

It is impossible to do justice to the book in one review. Treating of many diverse yet kindred subjects, written by different men, and from various view-points, it is impossible to generalize, and yet more so to compare, their conclusions. One thing, however, is certain; from beginning to end, the work is one that demands a place in every library. For those versed in the subjects whereof it treats, it furnishes the latest data, and suggests new problems; for those who are repelled by the vagueness surrounding the beginnings of history, it will be a most welcome contribution, revealing, as it does, how the prehistoric is being gradually recovered from the realm of myths and scientifically fixed by the guideposts of historical facts.

T. J. W.

**Orestes H. Brownson's Middle Life** (1845-1855), by Henry F Brownson. Detroit, 1899. H. F. Brownson, 8°, pp. 646.

The figure of this vigorous champion of Catholicism will never fail to attract the attention of every student of American Catholic affairs. In any period of Church history the apologist is always an instructive personality, revealing lights and shadows, strength and weakness, now lauded to the skies for acts of skill or daring, and again severely criticised for conduct or method that seem to imperil the truth. This is all the truer of the lay apologists for Catholicism, foremost among whom we may without injustice place Orestes Brownson, if rank and merit be adjudged according to length and priority of service, gravity of problems treated, intensity of opposition and density of ignorance to be overcome.

The lay service to the Church that began with Chateaubriand and De Maistre has so increased within one hundred years, that the clergy may well look to their laurels—the Catholic layman has never before spoken with such eloquence, on such high themes, and rendered such service to the *Ecclesia Docens* as in this century. France, Germany, England, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, offer a shining catalogue of "Defenders of the Faith,"—indeed their very number is no small tribute

to the eternal charm and truth of Catholicism, for the immediate past made little or no provision for them. Each has risen by a line of personal development to the stage that he occupies, and in no two cases have they been formed alike or called after the same manner. That priests should defend and illustrate Catholicism goes without saying,—that so many of its most illustrious protagonists should be laymen is not the least of the religious phenomena of the century. The Spirit breatheth where it listeth, and it is a strong proof of the internal liberty of the Catholic mind that the bravest and most efficacious defenders of the Church should be taken, abnormally, from outside the regular forces; that they should have contributed to the methods of defence so much that is new and wholesome, and should have taken from Catholicism the reproach of being no more than the vested and organized interests of a hierarchy. Amid the petty feudalisms and absolutisms of the last century such action would have been impossible,—much less the creation of whole congresses in which the layman co-operates with the clergy for the common welfare of Catholicism. This is one contribution of Democracy to the history of the Church,—out of the depths of the popular heart come the souvenirs, impulses, currents, feelings, awakenings, of which these Catholic laymen are the voice. Through them—and they are of all nationalities and temperaments—the Holy Spirit gave courage and consolation to the Catholic priesthood, most unjustly persecuted and broken. Through them was knit anew that bond of mutual attachment that was the essence of mediæval Catholic Christendom; they prove that the Church is no Brahmanic caste, but the living organism that Saint Paul described (I Cor. c. xiii.)

In the eighteen chapters of this second volume of his father's life, Major Brownson goes over in considerable detail the chief events of that agitated existence during the decade 1845–1855. Familiar names crowd the pages; half-forgotten but grave controversies are presented in the distant mellow light of the past; the gigantic labors of one struggling scholar are set before us, earning at once his daily bread and concerned with the destinies of a world. There is something grand and inspiring about the moral earnestness of Brownson; one is uplifted and invigorated by contact with that intense nature to which truth, conscience, consistency, were pearls of greatest price, and to which opportunism, the shadings of doctrine, the adjustments in favor of peace and comfort, and perhaps temporal advantage, were detestable. This may not be the temper of the multitude, but Orestes Brownson rose high above the average man, and possessed the holy self-devoting temper of the martyr or the crusader. His writings will long remain a source of edification and enlightenment to all thinking men, and his sacrifices to the voice of conscience an exemplar to future generations.

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**Lessons in Civics.** By S. E. Forman, Ph. D. New York: American Book Co., 1899; pp. 207.

This little book is an elementary text-book in "Civics" designed for use in schools, but it has features that make its appearance worthy of note in these pages; for, aside from its technical value, it stands for a principle and a policy in education. The keynote to these is given in this extract from the preface: "Unless it is pursued with a distinctly ethical aim, the study of civil government in public schools is of doubtful utility. To equip a lad with a knowledge of the working of governments and the rights of citizens, without equipping him with a conscience that will constrain him to practice the virtues of citizenship, may be to prepare him for a more successful career as a public rogue."

The book appreciates the necessity, in a country like our own, of training in politics for the boys who are to become the citizens, and, therefore, the rulers of the state. But it appreciates still more the dignity of politics in its best aspect, and the necessity of a strong ethical and moral leaven to keep what we term "practical politics" from becoming a stench in the nostrils of decent men. Mr. Forman is himself a teacher and a specialist in political science, and he has given us, in this modest little book, an excellent combination of science and sanity. Its use in our schools could not but prove of assistance in both moral and intellectual lines, and it is well worth while for those in charge of advanced parochial schools to look into the merits of the book.

C. P. N.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**The Question Box,** or Answers to Objections against the Catholic Church, by Non-Catholics at Missions, given by the author, Rev. F. G. Lentz, Missionary of the Diocese of Peoria. New York and San Francisco: Christian Press Association Publishing Co., 1900. 8°, pp. 245.

Father Lentz has given us in ninety-seven short chapters a number of objections to Catholicism, usually urged at the missions given for Protestants, together with brief and pertinent answers. The book is a very useful one, and deserves the widest circulation. Its temper is eminently patient and charitable; its style terse and direct. There is considerable gentle humor running through it, enough to relieve the tedium of a thrice-told tale. It would be well in future editions to give the titles of the chapters, both at the beginning, and before each chapter. Indexes of the topics treated, and of the objections, would also be an improvement.

**Chronicles of "The Little Sisters,"** by Mary E. Mannix; **Michael O'Donnell, or the Fortunes of a Little Emigrant,** by the same. Notre Dame, Indiana: The Ave Maria, 1900. 8°, pp. 378, 267.

These sketches, reprinted from that excellent family magazine, the *Ave Maria*, are deserving of a place in every Catholic family library. They are gracefully written, pure, religious and edifying in tone.

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**New Footsteps in Well-Trodden Ways,** by Katherine E. Conway. (2d Ed.) Boston: The Pilot Publishing Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 252.

In this little volume of travel-sketches, Miss Conway offers us an account of the impressions and emotions of a tour through Europe. Though the route of travel did not embrace remote or little-known regions, the gifted author has contrived to make familiar scenes newly interesting. She has a delicate Catholic sense of sympathy with much that the ordinary traveller does not see, or seeing, does not appreciate. Parents would do well to see that such travel sketches are placed in the hands of their children, instead of the insipid or misleading accounts that are too often tolerated in the home.

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**Over the Rocky Mountains to Alaska,** by Charles Warren Stoddard. St. Louis: Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 168.

This reprint from the *Ave Maria*, of "notes of travel and adventure" in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska, is in Dr. Stoddard's happiest vein. Readers of his "Lepers of Molokai" and his "Under the Crescent" will appreciate these pages that are everywhere lit up by a brilliant play of fine sentiment, picturesque style, and a certain confiding "bonhomme" that appeals to the best instincts of the reader.

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**My New Curate, A Story gathered from the Stray Leaves of an Old Diary,** by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P. P., Doneraile (Diocese of Cloyne, Ireland). Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. (5th edition), 1900. 8°, pp. 480.

This work appeared as a serial in one of our Catholic magazines, and won recognition at once by the superior quality of the thought and the delicate handling of the material. It is too late for us to repeat the words of praise that have been bestowed upon this clerical "roman de mœurs,"—few frankly Catholic novels have gone through five editions in three months. Nor is this owing alone to the energy and shrewdness of the publishers,—intrinsic merit is enough to explain the charm and popularity of the book, coupled with the natural curiosity the world has



to hear the life experiences of that usually reserved character, the priest. The latter is an official psychologist, since the days of Augustine,—yes, and long before, “*Homo sacerdos veniens erudiet nos.*” Since the “Parish Priest’s Week,” of Dr. Egan, we remember nothing more kindly, profound, candid, and beneficial. If the lives of our clergy must also be cast into the mighty grist of the modern press, let the grinding out be done by such as the well-equipped, brilliant P.P. of Doneraile, not by such observers as the author of “The Damnation of Theron Ware.” Little Doneraile ought to rejoice,—the jibing rhymes of the old pedagogue will now be forgotten for the literary worth and fame of its shepherd on whose shoulders has fallen the mantle of Father Prout. Is there not a misprint on p. 380, *Carofala* for *Garofalo*?

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**Characteristics of the Early Church**, by Rev. J. J. Burke, Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1899. 8°, pp. 148.

This little work undertakes to narrate briefly many things that the Catholic layman needs to know—the history of the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the primitive Church, its first writers, its teachings, liturgy, movements, creeds, councils, trials, and triumphs. It is very popular in character, without pretence to any embodiment of the results of scientific research. What is said (p. 111) of the popes Cletus and Anacletus is incorrect; they are, according to the best historians, one person. On p. 118 “Domatilla” should be “Domitilla.” When writing of “Saint Colman” (p. 46) one should always add some distinguishing title, as there are hundreds of Irish saints by that name. On the same page a work of St. Athanasius against the Novatians is cited, but it would be hard to find such a book in any list of the works of Athanasius. There are other blemishes. The science of Early Church History has made much progress in the last half century, of which the author seems to take no account. The most difficult work to write just now would be an accurate handbook of Early Church History. In spite of the above, there are very useful pages in this work—only its statements need control and verification.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, edited and finished by Edwin de Lisle. New York: Macmillan, 1900, 2 vols, 8°, pp. x + 422, 382. \$10.
- L’Université d’Avignon aux XVII et XVIII siècles*, par J. Marchand. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 326.

- Les Esclaves Chrétiens depuis les premiers temps, etc., par Paul Allard. Paris: 1900 (3d ed.), Lecoffre. 8°, pp. 494.
- Was Christ born at Bethlehem? A study on the Credibility of St. Luke, by W. M. Ramsay. Putnam's, New York, 1898. 8°, pp. 280.
- A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, by W. M. Ramsay. Putnam's, New York, 1900. 8°, pp. 478.
- The Criminal: his Personnel and Environment, by August Drähms. Macmillan, New York, 1900. 8°, pp. x + 402.
- Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated? An Inquiry, by Rev. J. L. O'Neill, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co., 1900. 8° pp. viii + 195.
- La Mort Civile des Religieux dans l'ancien droit français, étude historique et critique par l'abbé Ch. Landry. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. 172.
- Die Lehre von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Christlichen Alterthum, von J. P. Kirsch, Mainz, 1900, Kirchheim. 8°, pp. vi + 230.
- Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abyssiniern, von Dr. Ph. Euringer. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900. 8°, pp. —.
- La Vie de Saint Didier, Evêque de Cahors (630-655), par René Poupard. Paris: Picard, 1900. 8°, pp. xx + 64.
- La Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Saint Pathus, par H. F. Delaborde. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. xxxii + 166.
- Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant, en français et latin, textes et étude critique, par John E. Matzke. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. liv + 32.
- Les Grands Traités du règne de Louis XIV, publiés par Henri Vast. Paris: Picard, 1899. 8°, pp. 220.
- Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi nunc primum editum, Latine reddidit et illustravit Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum. Mainz: Kirchheim, large 8°, pp. lii + 231.
- Bilder aus der Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst und Liturgie in Italien. Freiburg im Breisgau von Stephan Beissel, S. J. Herder, 1899, 8°, pp. 328 (illustrated).
- Seneca-Album: Weltfrohes und Weltfreies aus Seneca's philosophischen Schriften (Appendix on the Christianity of Seneca) von B. A. Betzinger. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 8°, pp. 224.
- Saint Jean Chrysostom (344-407) par Aimé Puech. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 200.
- Le Bienheureux Raymond Lulle (1232-1315), par Marius André. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 216.
- La Vénérable Jeanne d'Arc, par L. Petit de Julleville. Paris: Lecoffre, 8°, pp. 200.

Daniel O'Connell, sa vie, son œuvre, par L. Nemours Godré (2d ed.).  
Paris: Lecoffre, 1900, 8°, pp. viii + 396.

Die Englischen Martyrer unter Heinrich VIII und Elisabeth (1535–1583), Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 16 Jahrhunderts, von Joseph Spillmann, S. J., (2d ed.) 2 vols., 8°, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1900, pp. xi + 255, xii + 439.

Zur Codification des Canonischen Rechts, Denkschrift von Dr. Hugo Laemmer. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1900, 8°, pp 223.

Encyclopædie der Theologischen Wissenschaften nebst Methodenlehre, zu akademischen Vorlesungen und zum Selbststudium, von Dr Cornelius Krieg. Freiburg: Herder, 1899. 8°, pp. 271.

August Reichensperger (1808–1895) sein Leben und sein Werken auf dem Gebiet der Politik, der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, von Ludwig Pastor. 2 vols. Herder, Freiburg, 1899. 8°, xxv + 606, xv + 496.

## ALUMNI ASSOCIATION MEETING, 1900.

The sixth annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America, took place at Hotel Bellevue, Philadelphia, on the afternoon of February 14, 1900.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of the President, Rev. Lemuel B. Norton, the First Vice-President, Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, S. T. L., occupied the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read by the Secretary, Rev. Dr. Kerby, and accepted by the Society.

The chairman announced to the Society the death of Fr. Norton's sister; he also gave expression to the satisfaction felt at the presence of Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the University.

The following were admitted to membership: Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the University; Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, Vice-Rector; Charles P. Neill, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Economics; Rev. Charles F. Kavanagh, S. T. B., Philadelphia; Rev. George V. Hickey, Milford, Ohio; Rev. James E. McCooey, Claremont, N. H.; Rev. William L. Sullivan, C. S. P., S. T. B., Catholic University; Rev. Richard Boland, Lowell, Mass.; Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, S. T. L., Catholic University; Rev. Eneas B. Goodwin, S. T. B., Catholic University; Rev. John E. Bradley, Philadelphia; Rev. Joseph McSorley, Catholic University.

Two papers were read, the one by Mr. Francis Guilfoile, of Waterbury, Conn., was entitled "What Problems Confront the Association." The text of this discourse reached us too late for publication. The second, by Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, S. T. L., of Clinton, Mass., was entitled: "How can the Association best serve the University." We print it in full:

### HOW CAN THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION BEST SERVE THE UNIVERSITY?

That every alumnus of the Catholic University is a loyal son and is interested in the success of his Alma Mater, I take for granted. Every man who has passed a greater or less time in her halls, who has followed the courses therein offered, who has drunk in the high aspirations that permeate her atmosphere, must realize that his present mental and moral stature is a result of all these influences, and unless he be hopelessly selfish, he will wish to extend this opportunity for broad, exact culture to his fellows.

The question then that confronts is, "How can this best be done?" It would be unpardonably conceited on my part to attempt to say the last word on a question so important; all I shall attempt to do is to throw out some suggestions, some tentative schemes, which passing through many minds, may tend to a solution of the question.

The University can be aided morally and materially; morally, by keeping her name and work before the country, by making her and her aims better known to those persons from whom she may hope to draw her students; materially, by contributing money or apparatus to fit out the University as perfectly as any school in the world, that her usefulness and influence may not be circumscribed by insufficient equipment. What I shall have to say will, naturally, fall under these two headings. As to the first:

The Alumni Association, being as yet in its infancy, lusty though that infancy be, can do little as an association to keep the name of the University before the people. In a great city, teeming with life, full of activity, the meeting of a score or two of earnest men might easily pass unheeded or at best gain but a passing notice from the press.

Moreover, the infrequency of our meetings is another bar to making our beloved University home known and loved as we know and love her.

Although the Alumni Association cannot as yet do much as an association in advertising the University, yet it seems to me that local associations could assist in this line; not that they would supersede the general association, but would be merely branches deriving their life and vigor from the parent stem. The minor or local associations could be established on diocesan or state lines; meeting oftener and more easily, they would effect the end sought more readily. This system has proved its success in other colleges and universities. I think the attempt would be worth the trying among us.

Take an example. I speak of Massachusetts by preference, as I know something of the conditions therein prevalent. There are in Massachusetts at least a score of alumni. Meeting once or twice a year, becoming better acquainted with each other, doing something in an academic line to make the meetings profitable and worthy of the school it represents, such an association would be a leaven that would have an ever increasing effect on Catholic New England.

If the state lines seem too narrow, why not include a group of states? To speak again of a section of the country with which I am somewhat familiar, we might have, for example, a New England Alumni Association, drawing from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Whether the scheme would succeed, I know not; whether it would be desirable, I do not attempt to settle. It seems to me that it would succeed and be a



help to our work. It is a far cry from Washington to Massachusetts; a farther cry from Washington to San Francisco; something local would be effective in making itself felt and in supplementing the work of the larger association.

What the Association, as such, cannot compass, the individual alumnus can accomplish. Coming here to the annual meeting as often as he can, getting into sympathy and tone with the University, renewing again the old associations—in a word, becoming an enthusiastic student for a day, he may then return to his home and diffuse some of his pent-up enthusiasm, some of the knowledge which he has acquired.

This may be especially the opportunity of the clerical alumnus. As the years glide by, the young priest, fresh from the University, becomes one of the elders of the diocese, while still retaining his youthful, student enthusiasm for the higher education of his people. He will now be more and more consulted as to the choice of a school by young men seeking the highest development of their powers in a University curriculum. This will be his opportunity to do some propaganda for his Alma Mater.

The importance of this propaganda cannot be too strongly dwelt upon. The University is not known—the University is not known as she is—to be a school of the highest grade in educational work, a school offering exceptional advantages to a young man who has energy and good-will to bring to his studies. It is not a seminary of superior grade, it is not a novitiate for priests, it is not a college even,—it is a University in the fullest, broadest sense of the word; in its aims and prospects it will give the completest education in all the branches of human science; will give the completest rational freedom of research; will welcome all truth wherever found and under whatever guise. The country does not know this. It is time it did, and it devolves upon us to accomplish it.

Catholic schools, of the primary grade at least, are now become common in our older Catholic communities. At the opening of each recurring school year it is now the custom to preach an educational sermon on the benefits of Catholic schools. Why can not the alumnus, to whom this pleasant duty falls, say a word of the higher education which our Church has ever fostered and which now our American Church has so fully realized? Why not hold up before the parochial school pupil the hope and aspiration of one day numbering himself as a pupil on the rolls of the National Catholic University? The ambition is laudable and cannot too early be presented to the Catholic youth.

If, however, this work is to be done by the Alumni singly or in association, it is necessary that they keep in touch with the University and know what is going on there. The University has developed much

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since our day, and 'tis said the student of the early nineties can scarcely find his way about,—the Professors are scattered all over the city,—the new buildings, with which he is acquainted only by cut or prospectus, will bewilder him and make him feel a stranger where once he was a familiar. "It is the same, yet not the same to me."

If this is true of the material make-up of the University, how much more truly may it not be said of the courses of studies! They too have developed and extended. Questions about them ought not to depend for an answer upon the meagre reports that the Catholic newspaper gives from time to time, reports be it said, treating oftentimes rather of the social than the academic life of our school. Some way, it appears, ought to be devised by which the Alumni may have accurate, first-hand information about the University, so that they may speak with authority on the matter and not be obliged to say: "Well, in my time they did thus and so, but doubtless this has all been changed since then."

Now as to material aid. I believe that any aid, however small, if it be given with a good heart by a grateful Alumni, will be accepted and appreciated, and in facing this question, first of all we must rule out of court the specious objection that we cannot do anything worthy of our Association, so let us wait until we have larger means and can do something handsome. That day will come sooner, much sooner, if we school ourselves to give now. We priests try to train up our children to obey the Fifth Commandment of the Church by instructing them to give their mite at a tender age. May not this lesson be profitably learned by the Alumni? Our President has sent out circulars to try the opinions of the Alumni on the advisability of founding a scholarship this year. He tells me he has met with much encouragement—but why stop here?—why not have a yearly subscription small enough to be within the reach of all, yet in the aggregate making a considerable sum? Let me detain you a moment with a few figures. We have on the rolls of our Association over one hundred and twenty-five names. If each alumnus would contribute ten dollars yearly, a very modest sum, less than one dollar a month, it would give a yearly fund of twelve hundred and fifty dollars, equivalent to an interest-bearing fund of twenty-five thousand dollars, half the endowment of a professorial chair. No small or unworthy work for an infant Alumni!

An Alumni Library Fund levied in some such way as this would be helpful, and the consciousness that the Alumni are heart and hand with the active faculty would be worth many dollars. Thus much for direct material help. It will necessarily be small at first, but unless I misinterpret the spirit which our well-beloved first Rector sought to inculcate, and which his successor has striven to foster, such a fund, though it be

small, will be one of the proudest monuments of the University, speaking, as it will, the gratitude and loyalty of the old students.

There is another avenue open by which direct pecuniary help may be directed to the University. Priests and lawyers are often consulted by persons about to make their last wills, regarding the disposition of their property. Quite often it has happened that these persons either have no direct heirs who have a claim upon their generosity, or after having provided liberally for them there still remains a surplus which is to go to organized charity. A word explaining the University's work might make her a beneficiary, and gain glory and merit for the worthy soul who gave of her abundance, that the truth might more and more abound.

One other suggestion and I have done. A school is valuable in proportion as it fits students for life-work and also, to an extent, in proportion as she is able to find places for the graduates. This latter work is especially suited to the Alumni. In the world, occupying places of trust themselves, the Alumni will have exceptional opportunities to recommend their younger brethren when occasion presents. We need no grips, no Greek-letter fraternities, no cabalistic symbols. We are Alumni of the same University; that fact ought and must open our hearts and homes to our brother, and working together we will establish a new reason why the Catholic University of America is the best school in America for the aspiring Catholic student.

Let us take up this matter of aiding our Alma Mater loyally, and though our ranks to-day number but a Gideon band, yet loyalty, enthusiasm and united effort will accomplish much. May it be our happiness, in the middle of the next century, mayhap, when, as old, bent men perhaps some one of us as the oldest-living graduate, we revisit the loved haunts, to find her halls thronged with the choice youth of our broad land; her laboratories teeming with vital research; her libraries alive with scholars delving into the wisdom of the past; her press sending out the latest discoveries in every line of thought and endeavor.

In such an hour, with hearts swelling with gratitude to God that we have lived to see a scholarly priesthood and a scholarly professional life assured to our American Church, we may say if we have been loyal Alumni: "In all this I have had my humble part, now dismiss thy servant in peace, O Lord!"

Each paper was discussed in open session, after which a committee was appointed to confer and report to the meeting on the suggestions contained therein. The chair appointed to serve on that committee Rev. Dr. Kerby, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., Mr. James L. Kennedy, LL. B., Rev. Francis J. Butler and Rev. William J. Fletcher.

A recess of fifteen minutes was then taken. At the expiration of the recess, reports of officers were received.

The Secretary reported that a copy of the Constitution and a circular-letter of invitation to the annual meeting had been mailed not only to members, but to all former and present students of the University who were eligible to membership in the Association.

The report of the Treasurer, Rev. George Leahy, S. T. L., was made and accepted.

The report of the Executive Committee was read by Rev. William Currie, in the absence of the chairman, Father Norton. The committee referred back to the Association for action the question of instituting various classes of members in the Society; it strongly recommended the formation of local or branch associations among the Alumni. After extended discussion on the problem of grades of membership, a motion was adopted which provided for the formation of three classes, to be known as active, associate, and honorary members. The second suggestion was accepted as offered.

A set of resolutions was drawn up and read on the death of Rev. Paul P. Aylward, S. T. L., a former member of the Association, and the Secretary was instructed to prepare a draft of these resolutions to be sent to the parents of the deceased.

"Whereas, God in His Providence has been pleased to call from our midst our well-beloved friend and fellow student, the Rev. Paul P. Aylward, S. T. L.

*Resolved*, That the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America receive with profound sorrow the news of his early demise; and further be it

*Resolved*, That we at the annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the Catholic University express our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family, and be it finally

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be preserved in the minutes of this Association and that a copy be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Resolutions of sympathy were also voted to Father Norton on the occasion of his sister's death.

The committee appointed to confer on the papers contributed, made its report to the meeting, through the chairman, Dr. Kerby. It moved a vote of thanks from the Society to the authors of the papers read. It recommended the advisability of an arrangement whereby the University BULLETIN might henceforth act as the official organ of the Association, a department being devoted to the business of the Society. The Committee requested that Dr. Kerby assume the responsibility of this department; it advised the selection of delegates from various sections

of the country, to report from time to time, on matters of immediate interest to the Association or to its individual members. It urged that a full report of this meeting be prepared, containing at least a resumé of the papers submitted, and that this report be printed and a copy sent to each member of the Association.

The necessity of a propaganda in the interests of the Association and of the University was insisted on. The headquarters of this movement were to be fixed at Washington, the committee to consist of members of the Association connected with the University, with power to invite others to assist them in their work. As a means of furthering this purpose, the formation, wherever feasible, of other centers of such activity was suggested, said local branches to report at certain times to the central committee. The committee, therefore, very earnestly recommended the strong personal service of former students in behalf of the University, by making it better known, explaining its aims, its advantages, promoting its interests in every way, public or private, that might be deemed advisable.

In order to make this service as actual and efficient as possible, the chairman recommended the appointment of a committee of three, to define the precise form or forms of such service and co-operation, which shall best meet the present conditions of Association and University; that it report as soon as convenient, and that its plan be transmitted to the members by the Secretary as a part of the report of the annual meeting.

The report was accepted.

In accordance with these recommendations, the chair appointed to serve on the last-named committee, Rev. Fathers Fletcher, McSorley, C.S.P. and Kerby.

The following were elected the officers of the Association for the ensuing year:

President, Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D., Catholic University; First Vice-President, Rev. William T. Russell, Baltimore, Md.; Second Vice-President, Mr. James L. Kennedy, LL. B., Greensburg, Pa.; Secretary, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, S. T. L., Catholic University; Treasurer, Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L., Catholic University; Historian, Rev. Francis W. Maley, Boston, Mass.

Executive Committee:—Rev. William A. Fletcher, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. George V. Leahy, S. T. L., Boston, Mass.; Mr. William T. Jackson, Washington; Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., S. T. L., Washington; Mr. George Twohy, Norfolk, Va.

The meeting then adjourned.

By this time the invited guests of the Association, His Grace, Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, and the Very Rev. Dr. Garvey, President



of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, had arrived. A brief reception was held in one of the hotel parlors, where the members were enabled to meet their distinguished visitors.

All then proceeded to the spacious and tastefully decorated banquet hall, and sat down to the excellent repast that had been provided under the efficient management of Father Currie, ably seconded by the other members resident at Philadelphia.

Regrets were read from His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate; the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Conaty; Mr. Charles P. Neill, Ph. D.; Rev. Peter McClean, S. T. L.

While the viands were being discussed, the banqueters were regaled with agreeable musical selections by a local orchestra.

Rev. Patrick Hayes, S. T. L., presided as toastmaster. The toasts were announced and responded to as follows:

Our Holy Father, Archbishop Ryan; Our Alma Mater, Dr. Garrigan; Our Country, Rev. Father Deering; Our Hosts of Philadelphia, Rev. Dr. Garvey.

Thus drew to a close the visit of the Alumni Association to Philadelphia. The entire occasion was a most happy and successful one, whether viewed from a business or a social standpoint. The earnestness shown, the sentiments expressed, the measures adopted in the business meeting will, when put into action, doubtless insure vigor and permanence to the Association and lead it gradually into that wider sphere of usefulness for which it seems destined; while the pleasure experienced in renewing, amid a cheerful environment, the friendships of years gone by, and living over again in mutual reminiscence the scenes and events of past life in Alma Mater, will furnish an ever increasing attraction towards similar gatherings in the future.

Those present were Archbishop Ryan, Very Rev. Dr. Garvey, Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Rev. Francis J. Butler, Rev. James J. Carroll, Rev. Michael J. Crane, Rev. William C. Currie, Rev. Lawrence C. Deering, Rev. Edward J. Fitzgerald, Rev. William A. Fletcher, Mr. Francis Guilfoile, Rev. Andrew F. Haberstroh, Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, Rev. William J. Higgins, Mr. William T. S. Jackson, Mr. James L. Kennedy, Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Rev. Joseph L. Kirlin, Rev. George V. Leahy, Rev. John Lunney, Rev. Francis W. Maley, Rev. John W. Melody, Rev. Peter Munday, Rev. Joseph McGinley, Rev. Lawrence J. McNamara, Rev. Joseph McSorley, C. S. P., Rev. John F. O'Neill, Rev. William T. Russell, Rev. Francis J. Sheehan, Rev. Joseph F. Smith, Rev. John E. Bradley, Rev. George V. Hickey, Rev. John D. Maguire, Rev. Maurice J. O'Connor, Rev. William Sullivan, C. S. P.

The Committee on Papers reported the following recommendations:

First. That no special effort be made to collect funds for University purposes in the immediate future.

Second. That the annual dues be regularly collected from all the members of the Association, with a view to possible application to University purposes later.

Third. That the members of the Association pledge themselves to personal efforts in the interests of the University. (a) That lectures be given or articles written when occasion offers and circumstances permit, explaining the nature, organization and work of the University. (b) That the members of the Association receive from the University each year, copies of the Year Book, announcements, etc., which may be employed in making the University known. (c) That they send to the University names of those whom they know intend taking a University course. (d) That the members of the Association subscribe to the BULLETIN and exert themselves to make the BULLETIN known and to encourage subscriptions, since it is the official organ of the University and of the Association.

MAURICE J. O'CONNOR, S. T. L.,  
*Secretary of the Alumni Association.*

## NECROLOGY.

### WALTER JAMES HOFFMAN.

Walter James Hoffman, M. D. (son of Dr. Wm. F. Hoffman and Elizabeth Weida Hoffman), Washington, D. C., was born in Weidasville, Pa., May 30, 1846; studied medicine with his father and graduated from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, March 10, 1866. He practiced his profession in Reading, Pa., until the summer of 1870, when at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, he received a commission of surgeon in the Prussian Army, and was assigned to the Seventh Army Corps located near Metz.

For "distinguished services rendered," he was decorated by the Emperor William I, and after his return to America he was appointed in 1871, Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., and naturalist to the "Expedition for the Exploration of Nevada and Arizona," Lieutenant (now Major) Wheeler, U. S. Engineer Corps, commanding.

The area traversed by the expedition being practically unknown, much new and interesting material was obtained to illustrate its natural history and ethnology. Upon the completion of the reports on the scientific portion of the preceding year's field work, Dr. Hoffman was ordered in August, 1872, to the Military Post at Grand River Agency, (now North) Dakota, where he served as post surgeon and prosecuted researches in the language and mythology of the Dakota Indians.

In the Spring of 1873, the Government fitted out a large expedition as escort to the engineers of the Northern Pacific R. R. (usually designated as the "Yellowstone Expedition of '73") under the command of Gen. D. S. Stanley, U. S. A., when Dr. Hoffman was detailed to accompany the Seventh U. S. Cavalry, General Custer commanding, and was later transferred to the Twenty-second Infantry, the regiment of which General Stanley was then Colonel.

Returning to Reading, Dr. Hoffman resumed the practice of medicine in November of 1873, and continued until the autumn of 1877, when he was appointed by Professor Hayden, then Director of the U. S. Geological Survey, in charge of the Ethnological and Mineralogical material. In this capacity he continued until the organization of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, when he was appointed Assistant Ethnologist.

Dr. Hoffman made special investigation with the organization (existing among all tribes of Indians, in some form or other), usually dominated the Grand Medicine Society, and for this purpose, as well as for the collection of anthropomorphic and other ethnological data, visited most of the aboriginal tribes of the United States and the north-west coast of America.

While in service in the German army Dr. Hoffman devised an instrument for the extraction of bullets from deep-seated localities, as well as foreign bodies, from the trachea and oesophagus. In 1882 he was appointed by the Imperial Turkish Minister of War to supervise the manufacture of a number of these bullet extractors, which instrument had been previously adopted by that government, as well as by several other foreign powers. Improvements and inventions of other instruments were made by him, more especially, however, for use in biological studies and taxidermy.

Dr. Hoffman was married twice. His first marriage was contracted with Elizabeth Springer Turner (a descendant of Isaac Gravenriit, a colonial officer of New York City, and sheriff of Esopus; also of Carl Christopher Springer, a protégé of Charles X of Sweden, attaché of the Swedish embassy in London, and later one of the chief officers of the Swedish colony on the Delaware River). By this marriage he left two children, Harriet E. and Frederick W.

His second wife was Mary Frances Davis, of Washington, D. C. Their son, Charles G., still survives.

Dr. Hoffman became connected with the Catholic University of America in 1890, which position he occupied until he was appointed by President McKinley United States consul to Mannheim, Germany, in 1897.

After two years of service, his health became impaired, and he was obliged to resign his position in 1898. Returning to Reading, he remained there until his death, November 8, 1899.

The following is a partial list of his works: List of Mammals found in the vicinity of Grand River, D. T., (1877); Mineralogy of Nevada (1878); Curious Aboriginal Customs (1879); Report of the Chaco-Cranium (1879); Annotated List of the Birds of Nevada (1881); Pictograph of the Shamanistic Rites of the Ojibwa (1888); Folk-Lore and Language of the Pennsylvania Germans (1889); Midiwiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa (1891); The Beginnings of Writing (1895); The Menomini Indians (1896); Graphic Art of the Eskimos (1897).

Dr. Hoffman was an active member of many scientific and antiquarian societies; he was an honorary member of several learned associations in

Germany, Russia, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Belgium and Portugal. He wore also the medal or ribbon of thirteen European "Orders" in recognition of his eminent services to the cause of science.

Dr. Hoffman was by nature and by training a religious man; he came of a religious family, belonging to the best days and to the best stock of Pennsylvania Dutch. He was brought up in the principles of the Presbyterian Church, and through his life, as man, as army surgeon on two continents, and as scientist, he never lost faith in God, reverence for religious truths, nor his hold on the supernatural. To this respect for religion we may attribute his integrity of life, his high moral character, and his unblemished name throughout a long and honorable career; to this, also, may be traced his suavity of manner and gentlemanly condescension, which always marked his intercourse with the rude, as well as with the polite world.

During the later years of his life Dr. Hoffman was not fully satisfied with the quantum of religious strength and assurance which the church of his earlier days gave him. Neither mind nor heart had been at rest, and he longed for a fuller enjoyment, a larger measure of peace and truth, a closer union of his soul with God. This feeling of unrest seemed to have grown upon him, and to have become more evident during his last protracted and fatal illness; so that as the end approached, after he had come back to America to die in his native State, and in the bosom of his devoted daughter's family, his thoughts turned more earnestly on the great facts of eternity and his own soul. Then through an honest desire to secure both in happiness forever, he invited to his bedside, through his son Carl, an esteemed friend of some years standing, and an accredited minister of the mysteries of salvation, the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University. Dr. Garrigan, in answer to this invitation, repaired to Reading, Pa., visited Dr. Hoffman two or three times during his stay in that city, instructed him in the principal doctrines of the Catholic faith, to all of which the invalid gave a ready assent, and then, in the presence of his wife and daughter, and with their full approval, he was baptized and received into the communion of the Catholic Church. Two weeks after this event, enjoying that peace and truth which he had so long sought for, Dr. Hoffman calmly yielded up his soul to his Creator. His funeral took place according to the Catholic rites, prescribed for such a ceremony, in Reading, and his body was laid to rest in Arlington cemetery, 'neath the shadow of the Capitol of the Nation, to which he gave some of the best years of his life, and in whose service he died.

In the establishment of the Ethnological Museum of the University,



he rendered, gratuitously, incalculable services; the present disposition of the valuable materials of that museum is his work, and when he was taken ill he was occupied in seeking other materials wherewith to enrich the collections of this department. He was its first Honorary Curator and loved to appear, on academical occasions, as a member of our academical corps. His loss is sincerely mourned by the University. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the Faculty meeting of the University Senate:

1. *Resolved*, That in the death of Walter James Hoffman, M. D., we recognize the dispensation of an All-wise Providence, and we bow to its decree with reverence and sorrow.

2. *Resolved*, That in Doctor Hoffman's untimely demise science has lost an eminent and devoted student of American Archaeology and Ethnology, who by his researches and publications had attained a foremost place among the scholars of our age.

3. *Resolved*, That the Catholic University of America hereby place on record its indebtedness to Doctor Hoffman for his cordial sympathy with its work and his distinguished services as Honorary Curator of its Museum of Ethnology; a department which he organized with scientific skill and taste, and enriched with many valuable contributions.

4. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be incorporated in the minutes of the University Senate meeting of this date, and engrossed and placed in the Museum of Ethnology; also that copies of the same be forwarded to the bereaved family and immediate relatives of our late friend and colleague.

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## NOTES AND COMMENT.

9. A Universal Language for Philosophy.—The Welby Prize of £50 was offered in January, 1897, for the best treatise upon the following subject:—"The causes of the present obscurity and confusion in psychological and philosophical terminology, and the directions in which we may hope for efficient practical remedy." The prize has been awarded to Dr. Ferdinand Tönnies, of Hamburg, and his essay has been published in *Mind* for July and October, 1899, and January, 1900. Those who realize what the "obscurity and confusion" mean, will appreciate some of the suggestions offered by Dr. Tönnies. "Among the historical causes of the observed phenomenon, as it presents itself at the present time, one is most prominent: the downfall of the European language of scholars, of Neo-Latin. So long as we possessed this, there was, even if only in the forms of words, a scientific terminology common to all; while at the same time there was an external distinction between the technical expressions of the learned, and the inconstant language of daily life, of poetry, etc. The Latin language was international as the language of the Church; from the Church it had spread itself abroad over old and new arts and sciences. The more these separated and liberated themselves from the Church, the more they became 'National,' that is, primarily nothing else than belonging to a large community of written languages, the formation of which they themselves promoted." After indicating other causes, he turns from diagnosis to remedy. As time goes on, the international character of philosophy becomes more evident, and the need of sharply defined concepts becomes more pressing. Such definition should be the work of an international academy, and the academy is not conceivable without a common language. "Is it possible that in this language we should celebrate the resurrection of Neo-Latin? Many reasons may be adduced to make it probable and not less desirable. It has never perished entirely; it is still indispensable in every technical and scientific terminology, from its unlimited capacity to adopt Greek forms of words which have their origin partly in the history of science, partly in later needs. It has, in general, passed through a long period in which it has been shaped for the ends of a manifold and refined thought; it has thus gained a certain coolness and sobriety, which is most appropriate to reason. . . . Finally we may say that even tradition has its rights, and that this dead language would certainly occupy a neutral

position far above all the jealousies of nations with the resistance of which such an enlightened and free act as the foundation of this academy would certainly have to reckon."

**10. The Second Congress of Christian Archaeology** will be held at Rome, April 17th-25th. It was originally intended to hold it in that treasure-house of Christian antiquity, Ravenna, but the celebration of the Jubilee Year at Rome made it desirable that the meetings should be held in the Holy City itself. Every intelligent Catholic must feel a sympathy for the labors and ideals of the scholars who devote themselves to Christian archaeology. It is our creation, notably the work of the lamented savant, John Baptist De Rossi. Dogmatic Theology, and the Liturgy in particular, are beholden to this young science for their freshest and newest arguments and evidences. No moneys are better spent than those that go to open up the Catacombs and to enable young and ardent scholars to pursue the study of Christian Antiquities. The foundations of great success have been laid, excellent teachers and workers trained, the materials mapped out. What is needed is funds and a more widespread enthusiasm among Catholics in general. The Secretary of the Congress is Signor M. A. Beignani, Piazza Crociferi, No. 3, Rome, to whom all subscriptions should be sent. The subscription (ten francs) entitles the donor to receive the *compte-rendu* of the Congress.

**11. The Christian Forum.**—Among the minor publications in Christian Archaeology we call attention to an admirable little résumé of the Christian antiquities of the Roman Forum (*Le Forum Chrétien*, Rome, Cuggiani, Via della Pace 35). It is from the pen of that veteran scholar, the Abbé Louis Duchesne, editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* and head of the French School of History at Rome (Palazzo Farnese). The little brochure of 75 pages is a model of what a popular archaeological study should be. It is much to be desired that the Abbé Duchesne would continue on this line, and give us a series of little handbooks of Roman Christian antiquities that would satisfy at once the piety of the pilgrim and the just demands of the critic.

**12. A Seminary of History.**—We have received the "Rapport," for 1898-1899, of the Historical Seminary of the University of Louvain: This summary of the students' labors in early Christian history, and literature and in mediæval history, shows at Louvain a vigorous scientific activity in this department. The youth thus trained will be heard from later, when experience, opportunity, and leisure shall have perfected the scientific training they are now receiving. The Seminary (or Academy) is conducted by Rev. Dr. Cauchie, the successor of Jungmann in the

Chair of Church History. He deserves congratulation for the excellent results of his labors, as evidenced in the pages before us. We understand that Louvain is about to add another periodical publication to those already carried on, in the shape of a Review for Ecclesiastical History.

**13. Congrès des Oeuvres Sacerdotales.**—On September 10th there will assemble at Bourges, France, a Congress for Priestly Enterprises (Congrès des Oeuvres Sacerdotales). It is under the presidency of Mgr. Servonnet, Archbishop of Bourges, and is destined to find ways and means for applying to the life of the French clergy the pontifical teaching and direction of the Encyclical of September 8, 1899, concerning the formation and studies of the priesthood. Its program, printed in the "*Vie Catholique*" of Paris, March 6th, is both noble and extensive. Under three headings—Studies, Enterprises, Methods—the nature, spirit and perfection of ecclesiastical studies, both in the seminary and out of it; the enterprises—spiritual, economic, social, literary—that befit the priest of to-day; the temper, conduct, virtues, tone, attitude in face of modern needs and modern development, are brought together for the calm, earnest, and prayerful meditation of the French clergy. The world will follow with profound interest the conclusions of this Congress. We recommend those of our brethren who happen to be then within reach of Bourges to make some sacrifice in order to attend, and reap from their learned and zealous confrères of France the fruits of their deliberations. "*Tua res agitur,*" when your neighbor's house is afire.

**14. "La Vie Catholique."** We call the attention of our readers to this excellent and worthy bi-weekly journal. It is published at Paris (ten francs yearly), Rue Saint Claude, 28, by the Abbé Pierre Dabry. Among its writers and promoters are some of the most earnest and thoughtful of the modern French clergy. It is the organ of the Christian Social Democracy of France, of which the clerical deputy Abbé Lemire is the protagonist. Our American clergy will recognize in it a vigor of practical polemic, an acceptance of the actual situation with the courage to make the most of it, and a sincere and generous love of the common people. May all its high Christian ideals, rooted in the very essence and immemorial spirit of our holy religion, be one day exemplified in a France become Christian and Catholic, therefore homogeneous and strong, once more the possessor of that hegemony of Catholicism that now threatens to escape her.

## UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

**The "Knights of Columbus" Chair.**—On February 11th, Mr. Joseph J. Murphy, A. M. delivered, an eloquent lecture on Christopher Columbus at the Columbia Theatre, in this city. The lecture was held under the auspices of the K. of C. Councils of the District, for the purpose of raising funds toward the endowment of their Chair of American History in the Catholic University. A large and enthusiastic audience was present, and a goodly sum realized. Mr. Murphy, a student of law at the University, is the son of Mr. Dominick I. Murphy, a representative Catholic gentleman of this city. He was introduced by the Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan in a happy speech. Apropos of this chair, we are glad to note in the March number of the *Columbiad* the assurance that a considerable sum had been already collected.

**Lecture on Washington by Senator Depew.**—Since the foundation of the University it has been customary to invite some prominent citizen to deliver a discourse on Washington's Birthday. Thus, we have already heard Governor Roosevelt, Senator Carter, and Senator Hoar. This year Senator Chauncey M. Depew delivered a discourse that was patriotic and suggestive in a high degree. The large audience evidently enjoyed the intellectual treat, for which the sincere thanks of all, students and hearers, are tendered to the Senator from New York.

**Consecration of Bishop Sbarretti.**—At the express invitation of the new Bishop of Havana, the faculties of the University assisted in their academic dress at his consecration. This took place Sunday, February 4, in the Church of St. Aloysius. Bishop Sbarretti has been intimately connected with the University since his arrival in Washington. He dwelt for a year in the Divinity Building, and both then and thereafter furnished evidence of his good-will and affection. He goes from among us, leaving only pleasant memories, and all unite in wishing him many years of a peaceful and beneficent administration of the distracted see which he has been chosen to fill.

**Archbishop Keane on Washington.**—On February 23d the Archbishop of Damascus delivered a most eloquent and impressive discourse on Washington, in the Lafayette Theatre. The President of the United States was present. Other notable gentlemen were also there. The Arch-



bishop was introduced by Senator Depew, who took occasion to plead for the erection of a respectable residence for the President. The Christian character and principles of the Father of his Country were admirably brought out by Archbishop Keane, also his belief in the necessity of religion and in the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Frequent applause interrupted the speaker, with whom the crowded audience was evidently in closest touch.

**Discourse by Very Rev. Dr. Garrigan.**—On March 18, the Very Rev. Vice-Rector delivered an eloquent speech on the occasion of the Celebration of the Feast of St. Patrick by the local Societies of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

**The Faculty of Theology** celebrated on January 25th, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. This is its patronal feast, and is annually commemorated after the fashion of all older Catholic faculties of Theology. Rt. Rev. Bishop Donohue, of Wheeling, was celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. The usual discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Edmund T. Shanahan, Professor of Dogmatic Theology.

**St. Thomas' Day**, patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy, was celebrated March 7th. Archbishop Keane was celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. The customary discourse was delivered by Rev. Frederic Z. Rooker, D. D.

**The Mass for Our Living Benefactors** was celebrated January 6th. The administration, professors, and students remember with special gratitude on this occasion all who contribute to the secure foundation of the University. It is the least service that we can render in this world to our generous benefactors; but it is performed by all with a grateful heart. May God multiply their number, for the work of the University is, from many serious points of view, undoubtedly one of the most necessary that are now incumbent upon the Catholic Church in the New World. From the view-point of Catholic doctrine, superfluous wealth is held in trust for higher purposes. It was the profound belief in this that created the splendid schools of the Catholic Middle Ages, as any one may see in Janssen's monumental work. Then few rich persons died without providing for Christian education, so that in England and Germany it came to pass that every child could receive gratis a superior training in all that was then known. Luther himself confessed this. The example of those times is admirably imitated to-day by our non-Catholic brethren, whose millions are being given away most lavishly for purposes of education. More than the past, the future belongs to the educated. Hence, that form of Christianity known as educational must more and more appeal to all enlightened Catholic hearts.

**The Will of Archbishop Hennessey**, of Dubuque, leaves the University one of the three residuary legatees. The other two are the Archiepiscopal Seminary and the Sisters of the Holy Ghost, a teaching community established by the late Archbishop.

**Publications of Professors.**—Besides the lectures delivered in the public lecture course, we have to credit our professorial staff with the following. In this issue of the BULLETIN Dr. Charles P. Neill, Associate Professor of Political Economy, writes on "The Economic Structure of Society"; Dr. Edward A. Pace, Professor of Philosophy, treats of "The Argument of St. Thomas for Immortality." In the "New York Sunday Sun," of March 4, 11, and 18, Rev. Dr. Shahan, Professor of Church History, printed three letters on "Woman under Paganism and Christianity." He has also contributed to the *Ave Maria* during March, April and June a series of articles entitled "The Heart of Acadie," being an account of travel in Nova Scotia. Rev. Dr. Fox, Professor of Theology in St. Thomas' College, publishes in this BULLETIN an article entitled "The 'Reconstruction' of Christianity." Dr. Greene brought out, in March, Vol. I, Part 22, of his excellent *Pittonia*. The contents are: Necker's Genera of Ferns, I, A Fascicle of Senecios, New Species of *Coleosanthus*, A Decade of New *Pomaceæ*, A Fascicle of New *Papilionaceæ*, Notes on Violets (Plate XII), Some New or Critical *Ranunculi*, New or Noteworthy Species, XXVII.

**Writings of Our Students.**—Rev. John W. Melody, S. T. L. (Chicago), candidate for the Doctorate in Theology, has a timely study in the current number of the BULLETIN, entitled "The Restriction of Marriage." We are glad to notice occasionally in the *Church News* of this city literary studies of merit and promise from the pen of Mr. Joseph Murphy (1901).

**Dr. Pace at Cambridge.**—Under the general head of "Spiritual Ideals," the Cambridge Conferences for 1899-1900 have presented in historical order the views of the world's great thinkers on God, the soul, and immortality. St. Thomas Aquinas was selected as the exponent of Scholastic thought, and his teaching was outlined by Dr. Pace at the conference held January 21st. It was shown that, in the Thomistic system, the spiritual order is the highest form of reality. Creative intelligence is the absolutely actual and permanent amid all change; and the human soul, as an intellectual principle, transcends the vicissitudes of matter. In developing these truths, St. Thomas shows his synthetic grasp and his critical appreciation of the philosophies out of which Scholasticism grew or with which it had to contend. His influence upon Christian philosophy, theology, and literature has always been great, and it is felt at

this time especially in the neo-scholastic movement. Dr. Pace's paper was followed by a discussion which gave evidence of the deep interest that attaches to spiritual ideals and of the growing sympathy with which the work of St. Thomas is regarded by candid inquirers.

**The Perennial Fountains of the Libanus.**—On January 20, Rev. Dr. Hyvernât delivered a lecture before the Philosophical Society on the "Perennial Fountains," a curious geological phenomenon of the Libanus mountain-range in Syria.

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#### THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

This Association was organized at a meeting held in Chicago, February 27 and 28. There were present representatives of the University of California, the Catholic University of America, the University of Chicago, Clark University, Columbia University, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, the Federation of Graduate Clubs, and the United States Commissioner of Education. The Catholic University was represented by Rt. Rev. Dr. Conaty, Rev. Dr. Pace and Dr. Shea. The constitution of the Association was prepared by a committee consisting of President Jordan, President Harper, Professor Pettie, President Conaty and Professor Newbold. The Association is founded for the purpose of considering matters of common interest relating to graduate study. It is composed of institutions on the North American continent engaged in giving advanced or graduate instruction. An annual conference will be held, at which topics suggested by the Universities will be discussed. These officers were elected for the following year: President of the Association, the representative of Harvard University; Vice-President, the representative of the University of California; Secretary, the representative of the University of Chicago; additional members of the Executive Committee, the representatives of Columbia University and Johns Hopkins University. It was decided to hold the next annual meeting during the last week of February, in the city of Chicago.

## THE YEAR-BOOK FOR 1900-1901.

The new Year-Book of the Catholic University of America appeared on April 14th. It contains, as usual, full lists of Officers, Faculty and Students, for the current year, degrees conferred in the preceding year, and announcements of Lectures, etc., for the next University year.

The list of officers has been increased by one, through the recent appointment of the Vice-Rector, the Very Rev. Philip J. Garrigau, S. T. D., to the office of Assistant Treasurer. The Faculty list is substantially the same as that published in the last Year-Book. The General Register of Students contains one hundred and seventy-six names, about five per cent. more than that of last year. The courses of Lectures offered by the Faculty of Theology have been entirely revised in accordance with the regular practice of that Faculty. The Law Faculty has made extensive changes in the curricula of the Professional and University Schools of Law. The announcements by the Faculty of Philosophy and by the Board of Technology are nearly the same as last year.

The registers contain more exact information concerning students than has been given in preceding Year-Books. A study of these registers shows clearly that the sphere of influence is already great, although the University is only just beginning the second decade of its existence. Some of the facts, reduced to tabular form, will be of interest to those who have aided in establishing this Institution, or who have been indited with it in any way.

TABLE I.

| UNITED STATES.         |                           |                            |                        |                    |                            |
|------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| States or Territories. |                           | No. of Students from each. | States or Territories. |                    | No. of Students from each. |
| 1                      | Arkansas.....             | 1                          | 16                     | New Hampshire..... | 1                          |
| 2                      | Connecticut.....          | 4                          | 17                     | New Mexico.....    | 2                          |
| 3                      | Dakota.....               | 1                          | 18                     | New York.....      | 10                         |
| 4                      | District of Columbia..... | 90                         | 19                     | Ohio.....          | 2                          |
| 5                      | Georgia.....              | 1                          | 20                     | Oregon.....        | 1                          |
| 6                      | Illinois.....             | 10                         | 21                     | Pennsylvania.....  | 8                          |
| 7                      | Iowa.....                 | 3                          | 22                     | Rhode Island.....  | 2                          |
| 8                      | Kansas.....               | 1                          | 23                     | Tennessee.....     | 2                          |
| 9                      | Louisiana.....            | 1                          | 24                     | Texas.....         | 1                          |
| 10                     | Maine.....                | 1                          | 25                     | Utah.....          | 1                          |
| 11                     | Maryland.....             | 5                          | 26                     | Virginia.....      | 1                          |
| 12                     | Massachusetts.....        | 9                          | 27                     | Vermont.....       | 1                          |
| 13                     | Michigan.....             | 4                          | 28                     | West Virginia..... | 1                          |
| 14                     | Minnesota.....            | 1                          | 29                     | Wisconsin.....     | 1                          |
| 15                     | Missouri.....             | 2                          |                        |                    |                            |
| 1                      | Canada.....               | 2                          | 3                      | Ireland.....       | 1                          |
| 2                      | Germany.....              | 2                          | 4                      | Turkey.....        | 1                          |

Table I gives the geographic distribution of students. Twenty-nine States and Territories and four foreign countries are represented, showing that the University draws its students from the whole country, from Canada, and to some extent from Europe.

Of the one hundred and seventy-six students following the various courses of instruction, one hundred and one have received baccalaureate or higher degrees. These degrees were conferred by forty-nine Universities, Colleges or Seminaries. In Table II, the names of these institutions and the number of students from each are given. Some students have degrees from more than one institution. When this is the case, the student is accredited to each of the institutions from which he has a degree.

TABLE II.

|    | Name of Institution.                         | No. of Students from each. |    | Name of Institution.                 | No. of Students from each. |
|----|--|----------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1  | All Hallows College .....                    | 1                          | 26 | New York University .....            | 1                          |
| 2  | Amherst College .....                        | 1                          | 27 | Niagara University .....             | 1                          |
| 3  | Berne University, Switzerland .....          | 1                          | 28 | Notre Dame University .....          | 9                          |
| 4  | Boston College .....                         | 1                          | 29 | Oberlin College .....                | 1                          |
| 5  | Catholic University of America .....         | 29                         | 30 | Propaganda, Rome .....               | 1                          |
| 6  | Chicago University .....                     | 32                         | 31 | Rock Hill College .....              | 1                          |
| 7  | Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis ..... | 1                          | 32 | Royal University, Ireland .....      | 1                          |
| 8  | Christian Brothers' College, Memphis .....   | 3                          | 33 | Seton Hall College .....             | 1                          |
| 9  | Columbia University .....                    | 1                          | 34 | Sacred Heart College, Denver .....   | 1                          |
| 10 | Columbian University .....                   | 4                          | 35 | St. Anselm's College .....           | 1                          |
| 11 | Detroit College of Law .....                 | 1                          | 36 | St. Francis' College, Illinois ..... | 1                          |
| 12 | Detroit College .....                        | 1                          | 37 | St. Francis Xavier College .....     | 1                          |
| 13 | Emory College .....                          | 1                          | 38 | St. Ignatius' College, Chicago ..... | 2                          |
| 14 | Georgetown University .....                  | 7                          | 39 | St. John's Seminary, Brighton .....  | 6                          |
| 15 | Harvard University .....                     | 1                          | 40 | St. John's College, Washington ..... | 1                          |
| 16 | Holy Cross College, Worcester .....          | 8                          | 41 | St. Laurent College .....            | 2                          |
| 17 | Holy Ghost College .....                     | 2                          | 42 | St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore ..... | 7                          |
| 18 | Humboldt College .....                       | 1                          | 43 | St. Mary's College, Kentucky .....   | 1                          |
| 19 | Johns Hopkins University .....               | 1                          | 44 | St. Mary's College, Montreal .....   | 1                          |
| 20 | Laval University, Quebec .....               | 1                          | 45 | Tulane University .....              | 1                          |
| 21 | Loyola College .....                         | 1                          | 46 | University of France .....           | 2                          |
| 22 | Manhattan .....                              | 4                          | 47 | Villanova College .....              | 1                          |
| 23 | Mt. St. Angel's College .....                | 1                          | 48 | Washington University .....          | 1                          |
| 24 | Mt. St. Mary's College .....                 | 4                          | 49 | Williams College .....               | 1                          |
| 25 | National University .....                    | 1                          |    |                                      |                            |

In addition to the one hundred and one students having degrees, there are fourteen priests entitled to the degree S. T. B. The number of students who have completed seminary or collegiate training may be regarded therefore, as one hundred and fifteen. The increase since last year in this class of students, for which the University exists primarily, is gratifying, being sixteen per cent.

The number of regularly matriculated students, candidates for degrees higher than the baccalaureate, is eighty-six, and it includes candidates for the Doctorate in Theology, Philosophy, Law, Science; candidates for



Licentiate in Theology, Master of Philosophy, Law and Science; candidates for Civil and Electrical Engineers. This number is not large, but it compares not unfavorably with those for the strictly graduate departments of other institutions. Table III, made up from recent statistics for the fourteen universities that now compose the "Association of American Universities," indicates that this University stands probably twelfth on the list with respect to the number of such students.

TABLE III.

|             | University of California. | Catholic University of America. | Chicago University. | Clark University. | Columbia University. | Cornell University. | Harvard University. | Johns Hopkins University. | Leland Stanford University. | University of Michigan. | University of Pennsylvania. | Princeton University. | University of Wisconsin. | Yale University. |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1890-00.... | 97?                       | 86                              | 375                 | 29                | 383                  | 170                 | 332                 | 188                       | 94?                         | 106                     | 152                         | 145                   | 61                       | 303              |

An examination of the registers for all the years shows that the number of students is larger this year than ever before. The growth of the student body has been irregular. During the first five years there was a decrease from year to year; during the last six, the increase has been almost continuous. Table IV gives a view of the growth. The large increase in 1895-96 was due to the opening of work under the Faculties of Philosophy and of Social Sciences.

TABLE IV.

| Faculty.  | 1889-90. | 1890-91. | 1891-92. | 1892-93. | 1893-94. | 1894-95. | 1895-96. | 1896-97. | 1897-98. | 1898-99. | 1899-00. |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Theology .....                                  | 37       | 34       | 33       | 28       | 26       | 38       | 55       | 61       | 58       | 74       | 75       |
| Philosophy .....                                |          |          |          |          |          |          | 25       | 45       | 40       | 39       | 49       |
| Law .....                                       |          |          |          |          |          |          | 25       | 38       | 41       | 45       | 47       |
| Technology .....                                |          |          |          |          |          |          | 8        | 7        | 12       | 10       | 10       |
| Deduct'n for names counted more than once ..... |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          | 4        |
| Totals .....                                    | 37       | 34       | 33       | 28       | 26       | 38       | 113      | 151      | 151      | 168      | 176      |
| Per cent. gains .....                           |          | -8.1     | -2.9     | -15.1    | -7.1     | +46.1    | +197.4   | +33.6    | 0.0      | +11.2    | +4.8     |

Average per cent. gain +23.4.

DANIEL W. SHEA, *General Secretary.*